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CAMBRIDGE ENGLISH CLASSICS

The Complete Works
of
Sir Philip Sidney

Volume III

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Facsimile of Sir Philip Sidney's handwriting

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

THE DEFENCE OF POESIE
POLITICAL DISCOURSES
CORRESPONDENCE
TRANSLATIONS

EDITED BY
ALBERT FEUILLERAT

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PREFATORY NOTE

THIS third volume of Sir Philip Sidney's Works may not be possessed of the same literary value as the preceding ones, but it will be, I hope, welcomed by all admirers of a writer who is justly considered as the English type of gentlemanly perfection. For it contains, besides the famous *Defence of Poesie*, the political discourses¹, the correspondence, and the translations of the *Psalms* and of Mornay's *Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne*—thereby exhibiting Sidney's complex personality in all the diversity of his activities, intellectual, courtly and moral.

The books and manuscripts from which the text was set up are of a very miscellaneous nature. The treatise on poetry has been printed from the Ponsonby quarto, and this choice, to begin with, should be justified. Two quartos appeared in the year 1595, the one published by Ponsonby under the title of *The Defence of Poesie*, the other published by Olney under the title of *An Apology for Poetry*. That Ponsonby was the originator

¹ I have discarded as more than doubtful Sidney's oration to his soldiers (in Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 733), and also "Certaine Notes concerninge the state of the Prince of Oreng and the Provinces of Hollande and Zelande" (Record Office, Foreign Series, 1445; British Museum, Cotton MSS Galba. C. vi, 52), given by Kervyn de Lettenhove (*Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ix, 309-14) as the "relation de Philippe Sidney sur sa négociation avec le Prince d'Orange." Such an attribution is warranted by no evidence, either external or internal. Sidney is known to have translated some of du Bartas's poems and Books I and II of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and to have written, on his death-bed, a poem entitled *La Cuisse Rompue*. These works are apparently no longer in existence.

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of the publication is made clear by the following entries in the Register of the Stationers' Company :

[29 november 1594]

William Ponsonby Entred for his copie under the handes of the Wardens A booke entituled A treatise in commendacon of Poetrie or the Defence of posey written by Sir Phillip Sidney

[12 april 1595]

Henrie Olney Entred for his copie under the handes of the Wardens a booke entituled An Apologie for Poetrie
This belongeth to Master Ponsonby by a former Entrance and an agrement is made between them wherby Master Ponsonby is to enjoy the copie according to the former Entrance.

Nor can it be doubted that the Ponsonby text is the more authoritative of the two. It contains two passages not to be found in Olney's quarto ; and it was preferred by the Countess of Pembroke when the folio of 1598 was prepared for the press. This seemed sufficient to warrant the choice of it, even though the other quarto presents a text somewhat purer.

The "Discourse on Irish Affairs"—which might just as well have been entitled "A Defence of Sir Henry Sidney"—follows the unique, unfortunately incomplete, autograph in the British Museum (Cotton, Titus, B. xii).

More than twenty copies of the "Letter to Queen Elizabeth touching the marriage with Monsieur" are known to exist. They, for the most part, supply very poor texts ; in some cases, it even looks as if the scribes had contented themselves with reproducing the general import rather than the exact words. I have selected the

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one preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, where it is to be found among the papers of the French Ambassador who negotiated the marriage. It must have been obtained through some intelligence agent and was probably copied from the original. The text is certainly excellent.

Of the "Defence of the Earl of Leicester" there are two manuscripts, one among the Sidney Papers, in the possession of Lord de Lisle, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The latter belongs to the same collection as the "Letter to Queen Elizabeth," and comes from the same source. The former is written in a somewhat late hand, possibly as late as the end of the seventeenth, or early eighteenth, century; but it is supposed to be a copy of an original which was long in the family archives (see description on p. 392), and from certain peculiarities in spelling I am inclined to believe that this original must have been in Sidney's own hand¹. This seemed to give it a value which the other copy could not claim.

If we except Sidney's "Letter to his Brother," often circulated at the time (here printed from Harleian 444), we have, in general, but one copy, usually an autograph², of the private and official letters collected in this edition. These letters, 114 in number³, are scattered all over Europe (one has even strayed so far as New York), and the places where the originals are to be found have been

¹ Probably the same MS as the one printed by Collins, and which had, in Robert Sidney's hand, the mention: "In my uncles own hand."

² The letters are to be considered as autographs, unless otherwise stated in the notes.

³ I have not been able to obtain a copy of Sidney's letter to Lord Willoughby (14 July 1586), preserved among the MSS of the Earl of Ancaster. An abstract is to be found in Report XIII of the Historical MSS Commission, App. VI, p. 210. Zouch mentions also a letter to Belerius, written by Sidney during his last illness, in so beautiful a Latin style that it was presented to the Queen. This letter is lost.

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indicated in the Notes. Many have already been printed, in full or in part, and in this case I have collated them with the originals, whenever possible¹. Several are made public for the first time.

I have seen nine manuscripts of the translation of the *Psalms*. There may exist a tenth—the one used by the editor of the 1823 edition—which I have not been able to discover, or, at least, to identify. Two of them have exceptional authority: Rawlinson 25 (in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), better known as the Woodford MS, and the Davies MS, preserved among the Sidney Papers. Rawlinson 25 was transcribed by Samuel Woodford from the manuscript of a scribe who is supposed to have been writing under the superintendence of Sir Philip Sidney. In some of the corrections, Woodford even thought that he could detect the author's own hand. And indeed, as may be seen at pp. 411–421, some of the changes are so important, involving the rewriting of whole stanzas, that it is difficult to admit that they were made by anyone other than the poet himself². A minute comparison of the two MSS led me to the conclusion that the Davies MS is a fair copy of the original used by Woodford. The text is essentially the same, with this difference, however, that several errors, some making pure nonsense (cf. Grosart, II. 203–4), are corrected in the Davies MS. It is, therefore, safe to admit that the Davies MS represents a more advanced state of the corrected text of the *Psalms*. This, together with the fact that it probably was the very manuscript “writt curiously” which Aubrey mentions as being preserved

¹ This is notably the case of Sidney's correspondence with Hubert Languet. Those who are familiar with Pears's edition will see that such a collation was no unnecessary task.

² There is, however, the possibility that the Countess of Pembroke was the poet who corrected the *Psalms*.

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at Wilton, decided me to adopt it in preference to the other.

There is no difficulty whatever in determining which Psalms were translated by Sidney and which belonged to his sister, the Countess of Pembroke. Woodford noted that the original, at the end of Psalm xliii had a note: "Thus far Sir Philip Sidney." Similarly, Additional MS 12048 (British Museum) and MS 341 (Queen's College, Oxford) have in the same place: "Hactenus Sir Phillip Sydneye." This tallies with Fulke Greville's letter to Walsingham (cf. Grosart, *Poems of Sir P. Sidney*, i. xix), which speaks of "40 of the psalms translated into myter." But the problem of the translation of Philippe de Mornay's treatise could not be solved so easily. *A Woorke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* was published in 1587. From the title page we learn that the book was "Begunne to be translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney Knight, and at his request finished by Arthur Golding." Again, in the Dedication to the Earl of Leicester, Golding asserts that Sidney "being delighted with the excellencie of this present work, began to put the same into our Language for the benefite of this his native Countrie, and had proceeded certeyne Chapters therein" when he had to leave England for the Netherlands, asking Golding to finish the translation. Which the latter did, though he could have found it in his heart "to have forborne the undertaking of so great a taske." The words last quoted seem to imply that Sidney had not made much progress when he gave up the task; but this is of little help when we have to decide how many chapters are to be attributed to his pen. Fortunately, a comparison of the English version with the French original at once reveals that the two translators had totally different methods. The one—

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whom for brevity's sake I shall call *A*—manages to be faithful to the sense without being a slave to the letter. The meaning is rendered with astonishing accuracy and yet the writer gives the impression that he is uttering his own thoughts. The terseness of the French is preserved, nay, in many cases, improved. And from this conciseness the style derives remarkable lucidity and beauty. One might very well suppose that the book was originally written in English.

The other translator—*B*—on the contrary, adheres to the text more closely, but is accurate in being literal. He servilely follows the foreign sentence and renders it word for word. His only ambition seems to be “very cleare, and very faithfully answering his author’s intent.” With this object in view, he does not hesitate, when unable to find the equivalent for a French word, to paraphrase, using two or even three expressions where the sense requires one. Such superfluity obscures the meaning and produces a certain honest, heavy mediocrity which smells of the lamp of industrious toil without having any redeeming originality of style.

Now we have no example of a prose translation by Sidney; but we possess several specimens of versions from the French by Arthur Golding, and there is not the least doubt that his notion of what a prose translation should be is identical with that of *B*. Take, for instance, Calvin’s *Sermons*, or Jacques Hurault’s *Politique, Moral and Martial Discourses*, and you will find the same literalness, the same tendency to paraphrase, and, more generally speaking, the same toilsome industry.

To Sir Philip Sidney, therefore, must be attributed the part of the translation where the method of *A* has been applied, *videlicet* the Preface to the Reader and chapters i to vi inclusively (with possibly the exception of the last

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paragraph of chapter vi where one can detect the method of *B*). The Dedication to the King of Navarre and the remaining chapters constitute Golding's share. Two chapters, however, the xivth and xvth, which treat of the immortality of the soul, must remain doubtful. Here we find the accurateness and eloquence which are characteristically in the manner of *A*, and also phrases which are no less characteristic of *B*. As it is impossible to say whether we have a draught by Sidney touched up by Golding, or some exceptionally happy version, written in a moment of inspiration, by Golding, I have not felt justified in including these chapters in this reprint.

I have reserved for an Appendix, as doubtful, the Essay entitled *Valour anatomized in a Fancie*. It was attributed to Sidney by James Howell; but it is also to be found among Donne's Works and I am far from sure that this piece was really written by Sir Philip.

Thus is brought to an end an enterprise begun some fifteen years ago, which has involved difficulties of all sorts. When this edition was planned, the matter contained in the three volumes now issued could be said to form the whole of Sidney's Works. Since then, there have been discovered several manuscripts of an older form of *Arcadia*; and though I do not attach the same importance as do some critics to this rejected form, which, in the author's mind, was to be superseded by the revised form, it is, on the whole, desirable to publish this work, were it only to enable scholars to study the development of this famous romance in Sir Philip Sidney's mind. I am glad to be able to announce that, at my request, the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have disinterestedly consented to issue an additional volume to this edition, in which I shall give the text of

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the "older *Arcadia*." This volume will appear as soon as circumstances permit.

I feel greatly indebted to all those—collectors, librarians, scholars and friends—who have generously helped me in the preparation of this third volume. I desire, in particular, to return my best thanks to the late Marquess of Salisbury, the Marquess of Bath, Lord de Lisle, Ch. Cottrell-Dormer, Esq.; Dr Warner, Mr A. W. Pollard, Mr R. F. Sharp, Mr J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum; Dr W. W. Greg; Mr H. Richards of Wadham College; Dr K. Heeringa, Keeper of the Archives of the State of Zealand; Dr Ercher, of the Stadt-Bibliothek of Zurich; Dr R. Muenzel, of the Stadt-Bibliothek of Hamburg; Miss Belle da Costa Greene, Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library; Prof. W. Dibelius, Prof. M. W. Wallace; Mrs S. C. Lomas, Mr A. R. Roberts, Mr A. Stamp, Mr Th. Craib, of the Historical MSS Commission; Miss A. F. Patton, Mr John Troughton, Mons. Ch. M. Garnier, Dean G. Dottin, Prof. Galletier; Mr Frank T. Sabin; Mr S. C. Roberts, of the Cambridge University Press; and lastly my dear friend, the regretted A. R. Waller. A special mention is due to my wife who by her ungrudged, constant help rendered this edition possible. Those to whom I have obligations are, indeed, so many that I must be content with recording only their names, without specifying the importance or the nature of their assistance. And if by chance I have omitted some, I hope I shall be forgiven in consideration of the length of time which has elapsed since I began my task.

ALBERT FEUILLERAT

24 June 1923

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THE
DEFENCE OF
Poefie.

By Sir Phillip Sidney,
Knight.



LONDON

Printed for *W*illiam Ponsonby.

1595.

THE DÉFENCE OF POESIE,

BY SIR PHILIP SIDNEY KNIGHT.

When the right vertuous *E. W.* and I, were at the Emperours Court together, wee gave our selves to learne horsemanship of *Jon Pietro Pugliano*, one that with great commendation had the place of an Esquire in his stable: and hee according to the fertlnes of the Italian wit, did not onely afford us the demonstration of his practise, but sought to enrich our mindes with the contemplations therein, which he thought most precious. But with none I remember mine cares were at any time more loaden, then when (either angred with slow paiment, or mooved with our learnerlike admiration) hee exercised his speech in the praise of his facultie. [He said souldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of souldiers. He said they were the maisters of warre, and ornaments of peace, speedie goers, and strong abiders, triumphers both in Camps and Courts: nay to so unbleeved a point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing bred such wonder to a Prince, as to be a good horseman.] Skill of government was but a *Pedanteria*, in comparison, then ~~would he adde certaine praises by telling what a peerlesse beast the horse was, the onely serviceable Courtier without flattery,~~ the beast of most bewtie, faithfulnessse, courage, and such more, that if I had not bene a peece of a *Logician* before I came to him, I thinke he would have perswaded me to have wished my selfe a horse. But thus much at least, with his no few words he drave into me, that selfelove is better then any guilding, to make that seem gorgious wherin our selves be parties. Wherin if *Puglianos* strong affection and weake arguments will not satisfie you, I wil give you a nearer example of my selfe, who I know not by what mischance in these my not old yeares and idlest times, having slipt into the title of a Poet, am provoked to say somthing unto you in the defence of that my unelected vocation, which if I handle with more good will, then good reasons, beare with me, since the scholler is to be pardoned that followeth the steps of his maister. And yet I must say, that as I have more

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just cause to make a pittifull defence of poore Poetrie, which from almost the highest estimation of learning, is false to be the laughing stocke of children, so have I need to bring some more availeable proofes, since the former is by no man bard of his deserved credit, the silly later, hath had even the names of *Philosophers* used to the defacing of it, with great daunger of civill warre among the Muses. And first truly to all them that professing learning envey against Poetrie, may justly be objected, that they go very neare to ungratefulnesse, to seeke to deface that which in the noblest nations and languages that are knowne, hath bene the first light giver to ignorance, and first nurse whose milke litle & litle enabled them to feed afterwards of tougher knowledges. And will you play the Hedgehogge, that being received into the den, drave out his host? Or rather the Vipers, that with their birth kill their parents? Let learned *Greece* in any of his manifold Sciences, be able to shew me one booke before *Musæus*, *Homer*, & *Hesiod*, all three nothing else but Poets. Nay let any Historie bee brought, that can say any writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skill, as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and some other are named, who having bene the first of that country that made pennes deliverers of their knowledge to the posteritie, nay justly challenge to bee called their Fathers in learning. For not onely in time they had this prioritie, (although in it selfe antiquitie be venerable) but went before them, as causes to draw with their charming sweetnesse, the wild untamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as *Amphion*, was said to moove stones with his Poetry, to build *Thebes*, and *Orpheus* to be listned to by beasts, indeed stonie and beastly people. So among the *Romans*, were *Livius*, *Andronicus*, and *Ennius*, so in the Italian language, the first that made it aspire to be a treasure-house of Science, were the Poets *Dante*, *Bocace*, and *Petrarch*. So in our English, wer *Gower*, and *Chawcer*, after whom, encoraged & delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to bewtify our mother toong, aswel in the same kind as other arts. This did so notably shew it selfe, y^t the *Philosophers* of *Greece* durst not a lōg time appear to y^e world, but under y^e mask of poets. So *Thales*, *Empedocles*, and *Parmenides*, sang their naturall Philosophie in verses. So did *Pithagoras* and *Phocillides*, their morall Councils. So did *Tirteus* in warre matters, and *Solon* in matters of pollicie,

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or rather they being Poets, did exercise their delightfull vaine in those points of highest knowledge, which before them laie hidden to the world. For, that wise *Solon* was directly a Poet, it is manifest, having written in verse the notable Fable of the *Atlantick* Iland, which was continued by *Plato*. And truly even *Plato* who so ever well considereth, shall finde that in the body of his worke though the inside & strength were Philosophie, the skin as it were and beautie, depended most of Poetrie. For all stands upon Dialogues, wherein hee faines many honest Burgresses of *Athens* speak of such matters, that if they had bene set on the Racke, they would never have confessed them: besides his Poeticall describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well ordering of a banquet, the delicacie of a walke, with enterlacing meere tales, as *Gyges Ring* and others, which, who knowes not to bee flowers of Poetrie, did never walke into *Appollos* Garden. And even *Historiographers*, although their lippes sound of things done, and veritie be written in their foreheads, have bene glad to borrow both fashion and perchance weight of the Poets. So *Herodotus* entituled his Historie, by the name of the nine Muses, and both he and all the rest that followed him, either stole, or usurped of Poetrie, their passionate describing of passions, the many particularities of battels which no man could affirme, or if that be denied me, long Orations put in the mouthes of great Kings and Captains, which it is certaine they never pronounced. So that truly neither *Philosopher*, nor *Historiographer*, could at the first have entered into the gates of populer judgements, if they had not taken a great pasport of Poetrie, which in all nations at this day where learning flourisheth not, is plaine to be seene: in all which, they have some feeling of Poetry. In *Turkey*, besides their lawgiving Divines, they have no other writers but Poets. In our neighbour Countrey *Ireland*, where truly learning goes verie bare, yet are their Poets held in a devout reverence. Even among the most barbarous and simple *Indians*, where no writing is, yet have they their Poets who make & sing songs which they call *Arentos*, both of theyr Auncestors deeds, and praises of their Gods. A sufficient probability, that if ever learning come among them, it must be by having their hard dull wittes softened and sharpened with the sweete delights of Poetrie, for untill they finde a pleasure in the exercise of the minde, great promises of much knowledge, wil little

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persuade them that know not the frutes of knowledge. In *Wales*, the true remnant of the auncient *Brittons*, as there are good authorities to shew, the long time they had Poets which they called *Bardes*: so thorow all the cōquests of *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, some of whom, did seeke to ruine all memory of learning from among them, yet do their Poets even to this day last: so as it is not more notable in the soone beginning, then in long continuing. But since the Authors of most of our Sciences, were the *Romanes*, and before them the *Greekes*, let us a litle stand upon their authorities, but even so farre as to see what names they have givē unto this now scorned skill. Among the *Romanes* a Poet was called *Vates*, which is as much as a diviner, foreseer, or Prophet, as by his conjoynd words *Vaticinium*, and *Vaticinari*, is manifest, so heavenly a title did that excellent people bestowe upon this hart-ravishing knowledge, and so farre were they carried into the admiration thereof, that they thought in the chanceable hitting upon any of such verses, great foretokens of their following fortunes were placed. Whereupon grew the word of *Sortes Vergilianæ*, when by suddaine opening *Virgils* booke, they lighted upon some verse of his, as it is reported by many, whereof the Histories of the *Emperours* lives are full. As of *Albinus* the Governour of our Iland, who in his childhood met with this verse *Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis*: and in his age performed it, although it were a verie vaine and godlesse superstition, as also it was, to thinke spirits were commaunded by such verses, whereupon this word *Charmes*, derived of *Carmina*, commeth: so yet serveth it to shew the great reverence those wittes were held in, and altogether not without ground, since both by the Oracles of *Delphos* and *Sybillas* prophesies, were wholly delivered in verses, for that same exquisite observing of number and measure in the words, and that high flying libertie of conceit propper to the Poet, did seeme to have some divine force in it. And may not I presume a litle farther, to shewe the reasonablenesse of this word *Vatis*, and say that the holy *Dauids* Psalms are a divine *Poeme*? If I do, I shal not do it without the testi-moñy of great learned mē, both auncient and moderne. But even the name of Psalmes wil speak for me, which being interpreted, is nothing but Songs: then that it is fully written in meeter as all learned *Hebritians* agree, although the rules be not

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yet fully found. Lastly and principally, his handling his prophetic, which is meerly Poeticall. For what else is the awaking his musical Instruments, the often and free chaunging of persons, his notable *Prosopopeias*, whē he maketh you as it were see God comming in his majestie, his telling of the beasts joyfulness, and hils leaping, but a heavenly poesie, wherein almost he sheweth himselfe a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting bewtie, to be scene by the eyes of the mind, onely cleared by fayth? But truly now having named him, I feare I seeme to prophane that holy name, applying it to Poetry, which is among us throwne downe to so ridiculous an estimation. But they that with quiet judgements wil looke a litle deeper into it, shal find the end & working of it such, as being rightly applied, deserveth not to be scourged out of the Church of God. But now, let us see how the Greekes have named it, and how they deemed of it. The Greekes named him ποιητήν, which name, hath as the most excellent, gone through other languages, it commeth of this word ποιεῖν which is to make: wherein I know not whether by luck or wisdom, we Englishmen have met with the Greekes in calling him a Maker. Which name, how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were knowne by marking the scope of other sciences, thē by any partial allegatiō. There is no Art delivered unto mankind that hath not the workes of nature for his principall object, without which they could not consist, and on which they so depend, as they become Actors & Plaicrs, as it were of what nature will have set forth. So doth the *Astronomer* looke upon the starres, and by that he seeth set downe what order nature hath taken therein. So doth the *Geometritian* & *Arithmititian*, in their divers sorts of quantities. So doth the *Musitians* in times tel you, which by nature agree, which not. The natural *Philosopher* thereon hath his name, and the morall *Philosopher* standeth uppon the naturall vertues, vices, or passions of man: and follow nature saith he therein, and thou shalt not erre. The *Lawier* saith, what men have determined. The *Historian*, what men have done. The *Gramarian*, speaketh onely of the rules of speech, and the *Rhetoritian* and *Logitian*, considering what in nature wil soonest proove, and perswade thereon, give artificall rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a question, according to the proposed matter. The *Phisitian* wayeth the nature of mans

DEFENCE OF POESIE.

bodie, & the nature of things helpfull, or hurtfull unto it. And the *Metaphisicke* though it be in the second & abstract Notions, and therefore be counted supernaturall, yet doth hee indeed build upon the depth of nature. Onely the Poet disdeining to be tied to any such subjectiō, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow in effect into an other nature: in making things either better then nature bringeth foorth, or quite a new, formes such as never were in nature: as the *Heroes*, *Demigods*, *Cyclops*, *Chymeras*, *Furies*, and such like; so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely raunging within the Zodiack of his owne wit. Nature never set foorth the earth in so rich Tapistry as diuerse Poets have done, neither with so pleasaunt rivers, fruitfull trees, sweete smelling flowers, nor whatsoever els may make the too much loved earth more lovely: her world is brasen, the Poets only deliver a golden. But let those things alone and goe to man, for whom as the other things are, so it seemeth in him her uttermost comming is imploied: & know whether she have brought foorth so true a lover as *Theagenes*, so constant a friend as *Pylades*, so valiant a man as *Orlando*, so right a Prince as *Xenophons Cyrus*, so excellent a man every way as *Virgils Aeneas*. Neither let this be jestingly cōceiued, bicause the works of the one be essenciall, the other in imitation or fiction: for everie understanding, knoweth the skill of ech Artificer standeth in that *Idea*, or fore conceit of the worke, and not in the worke it selfe. And that the Poet hath that *Idea*, is manifest, by delivering them foorth in such excellencie as he had imagined them: which delivering foorth, also is not wholly imaginative, as we are wont to say by thē that build Castles in the aire: but so farre substancially it worketh, not onely to make a *Cyrus*, which had bene but a particular excellency as nature might have done, but to bestow a *Cyrus* upon the world to make many *Cyrusses*, if they will learne aright, why and how that maker made him. Neither let it be deemed too sawcy a comparison, to ballance the highest point of mans wit, with the efficacie of nature: but rather give right honor to the heavenly maker of that maker, who having made man to his owne likenes, set him beyond and over all the workes of that second nature, which in nothing he sheweth so much as in Poetry; when with the force of a divine breath, he bringeth

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things foorth surpassing her doings: with no small arguments to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of *Adam*, since our erected wit maketh us know what perfectiō is, and yet our infected wil keepeth us frō reaching unto it. But these argumēts will by few be understood, and by fewer graunted: thus much I hope wil be given me, that the Greeks with some probability of reason, gave him the name above all names of learning. Now let us goe to a more ordinarie opening of him, that the truth may be the more palpable: and so I hope though we get not so unmatched a praise as the *Etimologie* of his names will graunt, yet his verie description which no man will ~~denie~~, shall not justly be barred from a principall commendation. Poesie therefore, is an Art of Imitation: for so Aristotle termeth it in the word μιμησις, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth to speake Metaphorically. A speaking *Picture*, with this end to teach and delight. Of this have bene three generall kindes, the chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie, were they that did imitate the uncōceivable excellencies of God. Such were *David* in his Psalmes, *Salomon* in his song of songs, in his *Ecclesiastes*, and *Proverbes*. *Moses* and *Debora* in their Hymnes, and the wryter of *Iobe*: Which beside other, the learned *Emanuel Tremelius*, and *F. Junius*, doo entitle the Poeticall part of the scripture: against these none will speake that hath the holie Ghost in due holie reverence. In this kinde, though in a full wrong divinitie, were *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Homer* in his himnes, and manie other both *Greeke* and *Romanes*. And this *Poesie* must be used by whosoever will follow *S. Paules* counsaile, in singing Psalmes when they are mery, and I knowe is used with the frute of comfort by some, when in sorrowfull panges of their death bringing sinnes, they finde the consolation of the never leaving goodnes. The second kinde, is of them that deale with matters Philosophicall, either morall as *Tirteus*, *Phocilides*, *Cato*; or naturall, as *Lucretius*, and *Virgils Georgikes*; or Astronomicall as *Manilius* and *Pontanus*; or Historicall as *Lucan*: which who mislike the fault, is in their judgment quite out of tast, & not in the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge. But bicause this second sort is wrapped within the folde of the proposed subject, and takes not the free course of his own inventiō, whether they properly bee Poets or no, let *Gramarians* dispute; and goe to the third indeed right Poets, of whom chiefly this question

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ariseth: betwixt whom and these second, is such a kinde of difference, as betwixt the meaner sort of Painters, who counterfeyt onely such faces as are set before them, and the more excelent, who having no law but wit, bestow that in colours upon you, which is fittest for the eye to see, as the constant, though lamenting looke of *Lucretia*, when shee punished in her selfe anothers faulte: wherein hee painteth not *Lucretia* whom he never saw, but painteth the outward bewty of such a vertue. For these third be they which most properly do imitate to teach & delight: and to imitate, borrow nothing of what is, hath bin, or shall be, but range onely reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be. These be they that as the first and most noble sort, may justly be termed *Vates*: so these are waited on in the excellentest languages and best understādings, with the fore described name of Poets. For these indeed do meerly make to imitate, and imitate both to delight & teach, and delight to move men to take that goodnesse in hand, which without delight they would flie as from a stranger; and teach to make them know that goodnesse wherunto they are moved; which being the noblest scope to which ever any learning was directed, yet want there not idle tongues to barke at them. These be subdivided into sundry more speciall denominations. The most notable be the *Heroick*, *Lyrick*, *Tragick*, *Comick*, *Satyrick*, *Iambick*, *Elegiack*, *Pastorall*, and certaine others: some of these being tearmed according to the matter they deale with, some by the sort of verse they liked best to write in, for indeed the greatest part of Poets have apparelled their poetickall inventions, in that numbrous kind of writing which is called *vers*. Indeed but apparelled verse: being but an ornament and no cause to Poetrie, since there have bene many most excellent Poets that never versefied, and now swarme many versefiers that need never answeere to the name of Poets. For *Xenophon* who did imitate so excellently as to give us *effigiem justi imperii*, the pourtraiture of a just Empyre under the name of *Cyrus*, as *Cicero* saith of him, made therein an absolute heroicall Poeme. So did *Heliodorus*, in his sugred invention of that picture of love in *Theagenes & Chariclea*, and yet both these wrote in prose, which I speake to shew, that it is not ryming and versing that maketh a Poet, (no more then a long gown maketh an Advocate, who though he pleaded in Armour, should be an Advocat and

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facultie, which is horsmanship, so the horsemans to souldiery: and the souldier not onely to have the skill, but to performe the practise of a souldier. ✓ So that the ending end of all earthly learning, being verteous action, those skills that most serve to bring forth that, have a most just title to be Princes over al the rest: wherein if we cā shew, the Poet is worthy to have it before any other competitors: among whō principally to challenge it, step forth the moral *Philosophers*, whom me thinkes I see comming towards me, with a sullain gravitic, as though they could not abide vice by day-light, rudely cloathed, for to witnesse outwardly their contempt of outward things, with bookes in their hands against glorie, whereto they set their names: sophistically speaking against subtiltie, and angry with any man in whom they see the foule fault of anger. These men casting larges as they go of definitions, divitions, and distinctions, with a scornful interrogative, do soberly aske, whether it be possible to find any path so ready to lead a man to vertue, as that which teacheth what vertue is, & teacheth it not only by delivering forth his very being, his causes and effects, but also by making knowne his enemy vice, which must be destroyed, and his combersome servant passion, which must be mastred: by shewing the generalities that contains it, and the specialities that are derived from it. Lastly by plaine setting downe, how it extends it selfe out of the limits of a mans owne little world, to the government of families, and mainteining of publike societies. The *Historian* scarsely gives leisure to the *Moralist* to say so much, but that he loaden with old Mouse-eaten Records, authorising himselfe for the most part upon other Histories, whose greatest authorities are built uppon the notable foundation *Heresay*, having much ado to accord differing writers, & to pick truth out of partiality: better acquainted with a 1000. yeres ago, thē with the present age, and yet better knowing how this world goes, then how his owne wit runnes, curious for Antiquities, and inquisitive of Novelties, a wonder to yoong folkes, and a Tyrant in table talke; denieth in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of vertue, and vertues actions, is comparable to him. I am *Testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis*. The *Philosopher* saith he, teacheth a disputative vertue, but I do an active. His vertue is excellent in the dangerlesse *Academy* of *Plato*: but mine sheweth forth her honourable face in the

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battailes of *Marathon*, *Pharsalia*, *Poitiers*, and *Agincourt*. Hee teacheth vertue by certaine abstract considerations: but I onely bid you follow the footing of them that have gone before you. Old aged experience, goeth beyond the fine witted *Philosopher*: but I give the experience of many ages. Lastly, if he make the song Booke, I put the learners hand to the Lute, and if he be the guide, I am the light. Then would he alleage you innumerable examples, confirming storie by stories, how much the wisest Senators and Princes, have bene directed by the credit of Historie, as *Brutus*, *Alphonsus* of *Aragon*, (and who not if need be.) At length, the long line of their disputation makes a point in this, that the one giveth the precept, & the other the example. Now whom shall we find, since the question standeth for the highest forme in the schoole of learning to be moderator? Truly as mee seemeth, the Poet, and if not a moderator, even the man that ought to carry the title from them both: & much more from all other serving sciences. Therfore compare we the *Poet* with the *Historian*, & with the morall *Philosopher*: and if he goe beyond them both, no other humane skill can match him. For as for the divine, with all reverence it is ever to be excepted, not onely for having his scope as far beyond any of these, as Eternitie exceedeth a moment: but even for passing ech of these in themselves. And for the *Lawier*, though *Jus* be the daughter of *Justice*, the chiefe of vertues, yet because he seeks to make men good, rather *formidine pænæ*, then *virtutis amore*: or to say righter, doth not endeavor to make men good, but that their evill hurt not others, having no care so he be a good citizen, how bad a man he be. Therfore as our wickednes maketh him necessarie, and necessitie maketh him honorable, so is he not in the deepest truth to stand in ranck with these, who al endeavour to take naughtinesse away, and plant goodnesse even in the secretest cabinet of our soules: and these foure are all that any way deale in the consideration of mens manners, which being the supreme knowledge, they that best breed it, deserve the best commendation. ✓ The *Philosopher* therefore, and the *Historian*, are they which would win the goale, the one by precept, the other by example: but both, not having both, doo both halt. For the *Philosopher* setting downe with thornie arguments, the bare rule, is so hard of utterance, and so mistie to be conceived, that one that hath no other guide but him, shall wade in him till he be

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old, before he shall finde sufficient cause to be honest. For his knowledge standeth so upon the abstract and generall, that happie is that man who may understand him, and more happie, that can apply what he doth understand. On the other side, the *Historian* wanting the precept, is so tied, not to what should be, but to what is, to the particular truth of things, and not to the general reason of things, that his example draweth no necessarie consequence, and therefore a lesse fruitfull doctrine. Now doth the peerlesse Poet performe both, for whatsoever the *Philosopher* saith should be done, he gives a perfect picture of it by some one, by whō he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the generall notion with the particuler example. A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde an image of that whereof the *Philosopher* bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither strike, pearce, nor possesse the sight of the soule so much, as that other doth! For as in outward things to a man that had never seene an Elephant, or a Rinoceros, who should tell him most exquisitely all their shape, cullour, bignes, and particuler marks, or of a gorgeous pallace an *Architecture*, who declaring the full bewties, might well make the hearer able to repeat as it were by roat all he had heard, yet should never satisfie his inward conceit, with being witnesse to it selfe of a true lively knowledge: but the same mā, as soon as he might see those beasts wel painted, or that house wel in modell, shuld straightwaies grow without need of any description to a judicial comprehending of them, so no doubt the *Philosopher* with his learned definitions, be it of v̄tues or vices, matters of publike policy or privat government, replenisheth the memorie with many infallible grounds of wisdom, which notwithstanding lie darke before the imaginative and judging power, if they bee not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of Poesie. Tully taketh much paines, and many times not without Poeticall helpes to make us know the force, love of our country hath in us. Let us but heare old *Anchises*, speaking in the midst of *Troies* flames, or see *Uliesses* in the fulnesse of all *Calipsoes* delighes, bewaile his absence from barraine and beggerly *Ithecæ*. Anger the *Stoikes* said, was a short madnesse: let but *Sophocles* bring you *Ajax* on a stage, killing and whipping sheepe and oxen, thinking them the Army of Greekes, with their Chieftaines *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*: and tell me if you have not a more

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familiar insight into Anger, then finding in the schoolemen his *Genus* and *Difference*. See whether wisdom and temperance in *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, valure in *Achilles*, friendship in *Nisus* and *Eurialus*, even to an ignorant man carry not an apparant shining: and contrarily, the remorse of conscience in *Oedipus*; the soone repenting pride in *Agamemnon*; the selfe devouring crueltie in his father *Atrous*; the violence of ambition in the two *Theban* brothers; the sower sweetnesse of revenge in *Medea*; and to fall lower, the *Terentian Gnato*, and our *Chawcers Pander* so exprest, that we now use their names to signifie their Trades: And finally, all vertues, vices, and passions, so in their owne naturall states, laide to the view, that we seeme not to heare of them, but clearly to see through them. But even in the most excellent determination of goodnesse, what *Philosophers* counsaile can so readily direct a Prince, as the feined *Cirus* in *Xenophon*, or a vertuous man in all fortunes: as *Aeneas* in *Virgill*, or a whole Common-wealth, as the Way of Sir Thomas Moores *Eutopia*. I say the Way, because where Sir Thomas Moore erred, it was the fault of the man and not of the Poet: for that Way of patterning a Common-wealth, was most absolute though hee perchaunce hath not so absolutely performed it. For the question is, whether the fained Image of Poetrie, or the reguler instruction of Philosophie, hath the more force in teaching? Wherein if the *Philosophers* have more rightly shewed themselves *Philosophers* then the *Poets*, have attained to the high toppe of their profession (as in truth *Mediocribus esse poetis non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ*,) it is (I say againe) not the fault of the Art, but that by fewe men that Art can be accomplished. Certainly even our Saviour Christ could as well have given the morall common places of uncharitablenesse and humblenesse, as the divine narration of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, or of disobedience and mercy, as that heavenly discourse of the lost childe and the gracious Father, but that his through searching wisdom, knew the estate of *Dives* burning in hell, and of *Lazarus* in *Abrahams* bosome, would more constantly as it were, inhabit both the memorie and judgement. Truly for my selfe (mee seemes) I see before mine eyes, the lost childs disdainful prodigalitie, turned to envy a Swines dinner: which by the learned *Divines* are thought not Historical acts, but instructing Parables. For conclusion, I say the *Philosopher* teacheth, but he teacheth

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obscurely, so as the learned onely can understand him, that is to say, he teacheth them that are already taught. But the Poet is the food for the tendrest stomachs, the Poet is indeed, the right populer *Philosopher*. Whereof *Esops* Tales give good prooffe, whose prettie Allegories stealing under the formall Tales of beastes, makes many more beastly then beasts: begin to hear the sound of vertue from those dumbe speakers. But now may it be alleadged, that if this imagining of matters be so fit for the imagination, then must the *Historian* needs surpasse, who brings you images of true matters, such as indeed were done, and not such as fantastically or falsly may be suggested to have bin done. Truly *Aristotle* himselfe in his discourse of *Poesie*, plainly determineth this questiō, saying, that *Poetrie* is φιλοσοφωτερων and σπουδαιοτερον, that is to say, it is more Philosophicall and more then History. His reason is, because *Poesie* dealeth with καθόλου, that is to say, with the universall consideration, and the Historie with καθ' ἑκάστον the particular. Now saith he, the universall wayes what is fit to be said or done, either in likelihood or necessitie, which the *Poesie* considereth in his imposed names: and the particular onely marketh whether *Alcibiades* did or suffered this or that. Thus farre *Aristotle*. Which reason of his, as all his is most full of reason. For indeed if the questiō were, whether it were better to have a particular act truly or falsly set downe, there is no doubt which is to be chosen, no more then whether you had rather have *Vespacians* Picture right as he was, or at the Painters pleasure nothing resembling. But if the question be for your owne use and learning, whether it be better to have it set downe as it should be, or as it was; then certainly is more doctrinable, the fained *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, then the true *Cyrus* in *Justin*: and the fained *Aeneas* in *Virgill*, then the right *Aeneas* in *Dares Phrygius*: as to a Ladie that desired to fashion her countenance to the best grace: a Painter shuld more benefite her to pourtrait a most sweete face, writing *Canidia* uppon it, then to paynt *Canidia* as shee was, who *Horace* sweareth was full ill favoured. If the *Poet* do his part aright, he wil shew you in *Tantalus Atreus*, and such like, nothing that is not to be shunned; in *Cyrus*, *Aeneas*, *Ulysses*, each thing to be followed: where the *Historian* bound to tell things as things were, cannot be liberall, without hee will be Poeticall of a perfect patterne, but as in *Alexander* or *Scipio* himselfe, shew

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doings, some to be liked, some to be misliked; and then how wil you discern what to follow, but by your owne discretiō which you had without reading *Q. Curtius*. And whereas a man may say, though in universall consideration of doctrine, the *Poet* prevaileth, yet that the *Historie* in his saying such a thing was done, doth warrant a man more in that he shall follow. The answer is manifest, that if he stand upon that was, as if he should argue, because it rained yesterday, therefore it should raine to day, then indeede hath it some advantage to a grosse conceit. But if hee knowe an example onely enformes a conjectured likelihood, and so goe by reason, the *Poet* doth so farre exceed him, as hee is to frame his example to that which is most reasonable, be it in warlike, politike, or private matters, where the *Historian* in his bare, was, hath many times that which we call fortune, to overrule the best wisdom. Manie times he must tell events, whereof he can yeeld no cause, and if he do, it must be poetically. For that a fained example hath as much force to teach, as a true example (for as for to moove, it is cleare, since the fained may be tuned to the highest key of passion) let us take one example wherein an *Historian* and a *Poet* did concur. *Herodotus* and *Justin* doth both testifie, that *Zopirus*, King *Darius* faithfull servant, seeing his maister long resisted by the rebellious *Babilonians*, fained himselfe in extreame disgrace of his King, for verifying of which, he caused his owne nose and eares to be cut off, and so flying to the *Babylonians* was received, and for his knowne valure, so farre creadited, that hee did finde meanes to deliver them over to *Darius*. Much like matter doth *Livy* record of *Tarquinius*, and his sonne. *Xenophon* excellently faineth such an other Stratageme, performed by *Abradates* in *Cyrus* behalfe. Now would I faine knowe, if occasion be presented unto you, to serve your Prince by such an honest dissimulation, why you do not as well learne it of *Xenophons* fiction, as of the others veritie: and truly so much the better, as you shall save your nose by the bargaine. For *Abradates* did not counterfeyt so farre. So then the best of the *Historian* is subiect to the *Poet*, for whatsoever action or faction, whatsoever counsaile, pollicie, or warre, stratageme, the *Historian* is bounde to recite, that may the *Poet* if hee list with his imitation make his owne; bewtifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting as it please him: having all frō *Dante* his hevē to

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his hell, under the authority of his pen. Which if I be asked what *Poets* have don so? as I might wel name some, so yet say I, and say again, I speake of the Art and not of the Artificer. Now to that which commonly is attributed to the praise of Historie, in respect of the notable learning, is got by marking the successe, as though therein a man shuld see vertue exalted, & vice punished: truly that commendation is peculier to Poetrie, and farre off from Historie; for indeed Poetrie ever sets vertue so out in her best cullours, making fortune her well-wayting handmayd, that one must needs be enamoured of her. Well may you see *Ulysses* in a storme and in other hard plights, but they are but exercises of patience & magnanimitie, to make thẽ shine the more in the neare following prosperitie. And of the contrary part, if evill men come to the stage, they ever goe out (as the Tragedie writer answered to one that misliked the shew of such persons) so maniced as they litle animate folkes to follow them. But the Historie beeing captived to the trueth of a foolish world, is many times a terror from well-dooing, and an encouragement to unbrideled wickednes. For see we not valiant *Milciades* rot in his fetters? The just *Phocion* and the accomplished *Socrates*, put to death like Traytors? The cruell *Severus*, live prosperously? The excellent *Severus* miserably murthered? *Sylla* and *Marius* dying in their beds? *Pompey* and *Cicero* slain then when they wold have thought exile a happinesse? See we not vertuous *Cato* driven to kill himselfe, and Rebell *Cæsar* so advanced, that his name yet after 1600. yeares lasteth in the highest honor? And marke but even *Cæsars* owne words of the forenamed *Sylla*, (who in that onely did honestly to put downe his dishonest Tyrannie) *Litteras nescivit*: as if want of learning caused him to doo well. He ment it not by Poetrie, which not content with earthly plagues, deviseth new punishments in hell for Tyrants: nor yet by Philosophy, which teacheth *Occidentos esse*, but no doubt by skill in History, for that indeed can affoord you *Cipselus*, *Periander*, *Phalaris*, *Dionisius*, and I know not how many more of the same kennell, that speed well inough in their abhominable injustice or usurpation. I conclude therfore that he excelleth historie, not onely in furnishing the minde with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that which deserves to be called and accounted good: which setting forward and moving to well doing, indeed setteth the

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Lawrell Crowne upon the *Poets* as victorious, not onely of the *Historian*, but over the *Philosopher*, howsoever in teaching it may be questionable. For suppose it be granted, that which I suppose with great reason may be denied, that the *Philosopher* in respect of his methodical proceeding, teach more perfectly then the *Poet*, yet do I thinke, that no man is so much φιλοφιλοσοφος, as to compare the *Philosopher* in mooving with the *Poet*. And that mooving is of a higher degree then teaching, it may by this appeare, that it is well nigh both the cause and effect of teaching. For who will be taught, if hee be not mooved with desire to be taught? And what so much good doth that teaching bring foorth, (I speake still of morall doctrine) as that it mooveth one to do that which it doth teach. For as *Aristotle* saith, it is not γνουςις, but πραξις must be the frute: and how πραξις can be without being mooved to practise, it is no hard matter to consider. The *Philosopher* sheweth you the way, hee enformeth you of the particularities, as well of the tediousnes of the way, as of the pleasaunt lodging you shall have when your journey is ended, as of the many by turnings that may divert you from your way. But this is to no man but to him that will reade him, and reade him with attentive studious painfulnesse, which constant desire, whosoever hath in him, hath alreadie past halfe the hardnesse of the way: and therefore is beholding to the *Philosopher*, but for the other halfe. Nay truly learned men have learnedly thought, that where once reason hath so much over-mastered passion, as that the minde hath a free desire to doo well, the inward light each minde hath in it selfe, is as good as a *Philosophers* booke, since in Nature we know it is well, to doo well, and what is well, and what is evill, although not in the wordes of Art which *Philosophers* bestow uppon us: for out of naturall conceit the *Philosophers* drew it; but to be moved to doo that which wee know, or to be mooved with desire to know. *Hoc opus, hic labor est.* Now therein of all Sciences I speake still of humane (and according to the humane conceit) is our *Poet* the *Monarch*. For hee doth not onely shew the way, but giveth so sweete a prospect into the way, as will entice anie man to enter into it: Nay he doth as if your journey should lye through a faire vineyard, at the verie first, give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste, you may long to passe further. Hee be-
ginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blurre the

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margent with interpretations, and loade the memorie with doubtfulnesse : but hee commeth to you with words set in delightfull proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for the well enchanting skill of *Musicke*, and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you, with a tale, which holdeth children from play, and olde men from the Chimney corner ; and pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the minde from wickednes to vertue ; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasaunt taste : which if one should begin to tell them the nature of the *Alloes* or *Rhabarbarum* they should receive, wold sooner take their phisick at their cares then at their mouth, so is it in men (most of which, are childish in the best things, til they be cradled in their graves) glad they will be to heare the tales of *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Cyrus*, *Aeneas*, and hearing them, must needes heare the right description of wisdom, value, and justice ; which if they had bene barely (that is to say Philosophically) set out, they would sweare they be brought to schoole againe ; that imitation whereof *Poetrie* is, hath the most conveniencie to nature of al other : insomuch that as *Aristotle* saith, those things which in themselves are horrible, as cruel battailes, unnatural monsters, are made in poetically imitation, delightfull. Truly I have knowne men, that even with reading *Amadis de gaule*, which God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect *Poesie*, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage. Who readeth *Aeneas* carrying old *Anchises* on his backe, that wisheth not it were his fortune to performe so excellent an Act ? Whom doth not those words of *Turnus* moove, (the Tale of *Turnus* having planted his image in the imagination) *fugientem hæc terra videbit ? Usqueadeone mori miserum est ?* Wher the *Philosophers* as they think scorne to delight, so must they be content little to moove ; saving wrangling whether *Virtus* be the chiefe or the onely good ; whether the contemplative or the active life do excell ; which *Plato* & *Boetius* well knew : and therefore made mistresse *Philosophie* verie often borrow the masking raiment of *Poesie*. For even those hard hearted evill men who thinke vertue a schoole name, and know no other good but *indulgere genio*, and therefore despise the austere admonitions of the *Philosopher*, and feele not the inward reason they stand upon, yet will be content to be

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delighted, which is al the good, fellow *Poet* seemes to promise; and so steale to see the form of goodnes, (which seene, they cannot but love) ere themselves be aware, as if they tooke a medicine of Cheries. Infinit proofes of the straunge effects of this Poeticall invention, might be alleaged: onely two shall serve, which are so often remembred, as I thinke all men know them. The one of *Menenius Agrippa*, who when the whole people of *Rome* had resolutely divided themselves from the *Senate*, with apparant shew of utter ruine, though he were for that time an excellent Orator, came not amög them upon trust either of figurative speeches, or cunning insinuations, and much lesse, with farre fet *Maximes* of *Philosophie*, which especially if they were *Platonike*, they must have learned *Geometrie* before they could well have conceived: but forsooth, he behaveth himselfe like a homely and familiar *Poet*. He telleth them a tale, that there was a time, when all the parts of the bodie made a mutinous conspiracie against the belly, which they thought devoured the frutes of each others labour: they concluded they would let so unprofitable a spender starve. In the end, to be short, for the tale is notorious, and as notorious that it was a tale, with punishing the belly they plagued themselves; this applied by him, wrought such effect in the people, as I never red, that onely words brought foorth: but then so suddaine and so good an alteration, for upon reasonable conditions, a perfect reconcilment ensued. The other is of *Nathan* the Prophet, who when the holie *David*, had so farre forsaken God, as to confirme Adulterie with murther, when he was to do the tendrest office of a friend, in laying his owne shame before his eyes; sent by God to call againe so chosen a servant, how doth he it? but by telling of a man whose beloved lambe was ungratefully taken from his bosome. The Application most divinely true, but the discourse it selfe fained; which made *David* (I speake of the second and instrumentall cause) as in a glasse see his owne filthinesse, as that heavenly Psalme of mercie well testifieth. By these therefore examples and reasons, I thinke it may be manifest, that the *Poet* with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually then any other Art doth. And so a conclusion not unfitly ensue, that as vertue is the most excellēt resting place for al worldly learning to make his end of, so *Poetry*, being the most familiar to teach it, and most Princely to

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move towards it, in the most excellent worke, is the most excellent workeman. But I am content not onely to decipher him by his workes (although workes in commendation and dispraise, must ever hold a high authoritie) but more narrowly will examine his parts, so that (as in a man) though altogether may carrie a presence ful of majestie and bewtie, perchance in some one defectuous peece we may finde blemish : Now in his parts, kindes, or *species*, as you list to tearme them, it is to be noted, that some *Poesies* have coupled together two or three kindes, as the *Tragicall* and *Comicall*, whereupon is risen the *Tragicomicall*, some in the maner have mingled prose and verse, as *Sanazara* and *Boetius*; some have mingled matters *Heroicall* and *Pastorall*, but that commeth all to one in this question, for if severed they be good, the conjunction cannot be hurtfull : therefore perchance forgetting some, and leaving some as needlesse to be remembred. It shall not bee amisse, in a word to cite the speciall kindes, to see what faults may be found in the right use of them. Is it then the *Pastorall Poeme* which is misliked ? (For perchance where the hedge is lowest they will soonest leape over) is the poore pipe disdained, which somtimes out of *Mælibeus* mouth, can shewe the miserie of people, under hard Lords, and ravening souldiers ? And again by *Titerus*, what blessednesse is derived, to them that lie lowest, from the goodnesse of them that sit highest ? Sometimes under the prettie tales of *Woolves* and *sheepe*, can enclude the whole considerations of wrong doing and patience ; sometimes shew that contentions for trifles, can get but a trifling victory, wher perchance a man may see, that even *Alexander & Darius*, when they strave who should be Cocke of this worldes dunghill, the benefit they got, was, that the afterlivers may say, *Hæc memini & victum frustra contendere Thirsim. Ex illo Coridon, Coridon est tempore nobis.* Or is it the lamenting *Elegiack*, which in a kinde heart would moove rather pittie then blame, who bewaileth with the great Philosopher *Heraclitus*, the weakenesse of mankinde, and the wretchednesse of the world : who surely is to bee praised either for compassionate accompanying just causes of lamentations, or for rightlie painting out how weake be the passions of wofulnesse ? Is it the bitter but wholesome *Iambick*, who rubbes the galled minde, in making shame the Trumpet of villanie, with bolde and open crying out against naughtinesse ? Or the *Satirick*, who *Omne vafer vitium ridenti*

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tangit amico, who sportingly, never leaveth, till he make a man laugh at follie; and at length ashamed, to laugh at himself; which he cannot avoyde, without avoyding the follie? who while *Circum præcordia ludit*, giveth us to feele how many head-aches a passionate life bringeth us to? How when all is done, *Est Ulubris animus si nos non deficit æquus*. No perchance it is the *Comick*, whom naughtie Play-makers and stage-keepers, have justly made odious. To the arguments of abuse, I will after answer, onely thus much now is to be said, that the *Comedy* is an imitatiō of the cōmon errors of our life, which he representeth in the most ridiculous & scornfull sort that may be: so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one. Now as in *Geometrie*, the oblique must be knowne as well as the right, and in *Arithmetick*, the odde as well as the even, so in the actions of our life, who seeth not the filthinesse of evill, wanteth a great foile to perceive the bewtie of vertue. This doth the *Comædie* handle so in our private and domesticall matters, as with hearing it, wee get as it were an experience what is to be looked for of a niggardly *Demea*, of a craftie *Davus*, of a flattering *Gnato*, of a vain-glorious *Thraso*: and not onely to know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such, by the signifying badge given them by the *Comædient*. And litle reason hath any man to say, that men learne the evill by seeing it so set out, since as I said before, there is no man living, but by the force truth hath in nature, no sooner seeth these men play their parts, but wisheth them in *Pistrinum*, although perchance the sack of his owne faults lie so behinde his backe, that he seeth not himselfe to dance the same measure: wherto yet nothing can more open his eies, then to see his owne actions contemptibly set forth. So that the right use of *Comædie*, will I thinke, by no bodie be blamed; and much lesse of the high and excellent *Tragedie*, that openeth the greatest woundes, and sheweth forth the *Ulcers* that are covered with *Tissue*, that maketh Kings feare to be Tyrants, and Tyrants manifest their tyrannicall humours, that with sturring the affects of *Admiration* and *Comiseration*, teacheth the uncertaintie of this world, and upon how weak foundations guilden roofes are builded: that maketh us know, *Qui scæptra sævus duro imperio regit, Timet timentes, metus in authorem redit*. But how much it can move, *Plutarch* yeeldeth a notable testimonie of the abhominable Tyrant

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Alexander Pheræus, from whose eyes a Tragedie well made and represented, drew abundance of teares, who without all pittie had murdered infinite numbers, and some of his owne blood : so as he that was not ashamed to make matters for *Tragedies*, yet could not resist the sweete violence of a *Tragedie*. And if it wrought no further good in him, it was, that he in despite of himself, withdrew himselfe from hearkening to that which might mollifie his hardened heart. But it is not the *Tragedie* they do mislike, for it were too absurd to cast out so excellent a representation of whatsoever is most woorthie to be learned. Is it the *Lyricke* that moste displeaseth, who with his tuned *Lyre*, and well accorded voice, giveth praise, the reward of vertue, to vertuous acts ? who giveth morall preceptes and naturall Problemes, who sometime raiseth up his voyce to the height of the heavens, in singing the laudes of the immortall God ? Certainly I must confesse mine owne barbarousnesse, I never heard the old Song of *Percy* and *Duglas*, that I founde not my heart mooved more then with a Trumpet ; and yet is it sung but by some blinde Crowder, with no rougher voyce, then rude stile : which being so evill apparelled in the dust and Cobwebbes of that uncivill age, what would it worke, trimmed in the gorgious eloquence of *Pindare* ? In *Hungarie* I have scene it the manner at all Feastes, and other such like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors valure, which that right souldierlike nation, think one of the chiefeest kindlers of brave courage. The incomperable *Lacedemonians*, did not onclie carrie that kinde of *Musicke* ever with them to the field, but even at home, as such songs were made, so were they all content to be singers of them : when the lustie men were to tell what they did, the old men what they had done, and the yoong what they would doo. And where a man may say that *Pindare* many times praiseth highly Victories of small moment, rather matters of sport then vertue, as it may be answered, it was the fault of the *Poet*, and not of the *Poetrie* ; so indeed the chiefe fault was, in the time and custome of the *Greekes*, who set those toyes at so high a price, that *Phillip* of *Macedon* reckoned a horse-race wonne at *Olympus*, among his three fearefull felicities. But as the unimitable *Pindare* often did, so is that kind most capable and most fit, to awake the thoughts from the sleepe of idlenesse, to embrace honourable enterprises. Their rests the Heroicall, whose verie name I thinke

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should daunt all backbiters. For by what conceit can a tongue bee directed to speake evil of that which draweth with him no lesse champions then *Achilles*, *Cirus*, *Aeneas*, *Turnus*, *Tideus*, *Rinaldo*, who doeth not onely teache and moove to a truth, but teacheth and mooveth to the most high and excellent truth: who maketh magnanimitie and justice, shine through all mistie fearefulnesse and foggie desires. Who if the saying of *Plato* and *Tully* bee true, that who could see vertue, woulde bee woonderfullie ravished with the love of her bewtie. This man setteth her out to make her more lovely in her holliday apparrell, to the eye of anie that will daine, not to disdaine untill they understand. But if any thing be alreadie said in the defence of sweete *Poetrie*, all concurrETH to the mainteining the *Heroicall*, which is not onelie a kinde, but the best and most accomplished kindes of Poetrie. For as the Image of each Action stirreth and instructeth the minde, so the loftie Image of such woorthies, moste enflameth the minde with desire to bee woorthie: and enformes with counsaile how to bee woorthie. Onely let *Aeneas* bee worne in the Tablet of your memorie, how hee governeth himselfe in the ruine of his Countrey, in the preserving his olde Father, and carrying away his religious Ceremonies, in obeying Gods Commaunment, to leave *Dido*, though not onelie all passionate kindnesse, but even the humane consideration of vertuous gratefulnessse, would have craved other of him: how in stormes, howe in sports, howe in warre, howe in peace, how a fugitive, how victorious, how besieged, how besieging, how to straungers, how to Allies, how to enemies, how to his owne. Lastly, how in his inwarde selfe, and howe in his outward government, and I thinke in a minde moste prejudiced with a prejudicating humour, Hee will bee founde in excellencie fruitefull. Yea as *Horace* saith, *Melius Chrisippo & Crantore*: but truly I imagin it falleth out with these Poet-whippers, as with some good women who often are sicke, but in faith they cannot tel where. So the name of *Poetrie* is odious to them, but neither his cause nor effects, neither the summe that containes him, nor the particularities descending from him, give any fast handle to their carping disprayse. Since then *Poetrie* is of al humane learnings the most ancient, and of most fatherly antiquitie, as from whence other learnings have taken their beginnings; Since it is so universall, that no learned nation doth despise it, nor barbarous nation is without it; Since

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both *Romane & Greeke* gave such divine names unto it, the one of prophesying, the other of making; and that indeed that name of making is fit for him, considering, that where all other Arts retain themselves within their subject, and receive as it were their being from it. The *Poet* onely, onely bringeth his own stuffe, and doth not learn a Conceit out of a matter, but maketh matter for a Conceit. Since neither his description, nor end, containing any evill, the thing described cannot be evil; since his effects be so good as to teach goodnes, and delight the learners of it; since therein (namely in morall doctrine the chiefe of all knowledges) hee doth not onely farre passe the *Historian*, but for instructing is well nigh comparable to the *Philosopher*, for moving, leaveth him behind him. Since the holy scripture (wherein there is no uncleannesse) hath whole parts in it Poeticall, and that even our Savior Christ vouchsafed to use the flowers of it: since all his kindes are not onely in their united formes, but in their severed dissections fully commendable, I thinke, (and thinke I thinke rightly) the Lawrell Crowne appointed for tryumphant Captaines, doth worthily of all other learnings, honour the *Poets* triumph. But bicause we have eares aswell as toongs, and that the lightest reasons that may be, will seeme to waigh greatly, if nothing be put in the counterballance, let us heare, and as well as we can, ponder what objections be made against this Art, which may be woorthie either of yeelding, or answering. First truly I note, not onely in these *μισομουσοι*, Poet-haters, but in all that kind of people who seek a praise, by dispraising others, that they do prodigally spend a great many wandring words in quips and scoffes, carping and taunting at each thing, which by sturring the spleene, may staie the brain from a through beholding the worthinesse of the subject. Those kind of objections, as they are full of a verie idle easinesse, since there is nothing of so sacred a majestie, but that an itching toong may rub it selfe upon it, so deserve they no other answer, but in steed of laughing at the jeast, to laugh at the jeaster. We know a playing wit can praise the discretion of an Asse, the comfortablenes of being in debt, and the jolly commodities of being sicke of the plague. So of the contrary side, if we will turne *Ovids* verse, *Ut lateat virtus, proximitate mali*, that good lye hid, in nearnesse of the evill. *Agrippa* will be as mery in shewing the vanitie of Science, as *Erasmus* was in the commending of

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folly: neither shal any man or matter, escape some touch of these smiling Raylers. But for *Erasmus* and *Agrippa*, they had an other foundation then the superficial part would promise. Marry these other pleasaunt fault-finders, who will correct the *Verbe*, before they understand the *Nowne*, and confute others knowledge, before they confirme their owne, I would have them onely remember, that scoffing commeth not of wisdom; so as the best title in true English they get with their meriments, is to be called good fooles: for so have our grave forefathers ever tearmed that humorous kinde of jesters. But that which giveth greatest scope to their scorning humor, is ryming and versing. It is alreadie said (and as I thinke truly said) ~~It is not ryming and versing that maketh Poesie: One may be a Poet without versing, and a versefier without Poetrie.~~ But yet presuppose it were inseperable, as indeed it seemeth *Scalliger* judgeth truly, it were an inseperable commendation. For if *Oratio*, next to *Ratio*, Speech next to Reason, be the greatest gift bestowed upon *Mortalitie*, that cannot bee praiselesse, which doth most polish that blessing of speech; which considereth each word not onely as a man may say by his forcible qualitie, but by his best measured quantity: carrying even in themselves a *Harmonie*, without perchance number, measure, order, proportion, be in our time growne odious. But laie aside the just praise it hath, by being the onely fit speech for *Musicke*, (*Musicke I say the most divine striker of the senses*) Thus much is undoubtedly true, that if reading be foolish without remembring, *Memorie* being the onely treasure of knowledge, those words which are fittest for memory, are likewise most convenient for knowledge. Now that Verse far exceedeth Prose in the knitting up of the memorie, the reason is manifest, the words (besides their delight, which hath a great affinitie to memorie) being so set as one cannot be lost, but the whole worke failes: which accusing it selfe, calleth the remembrance back to it selfe, and so most strongly confirmeth it. Besides one word, so as it were begetting an other, as be it in rime or measured verse, by the former a mā shall have a neare gesse to the follower. Lastly even they that have taught the Art of memory, have shewed nothing so apt for it, as a certaine roome divided into many places, well & thoroughly knowne: Now that hath the verse in effect perfectly, everie word having his natural seat, which seat must

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needs make the word remembred. But what needes more in a thing so knowne to all men. Who is it that ever was scholler, that doth not carry away som verses of *Virgil*, *Horace*, or *Cato*, which in his youth hee learned, and evē to his old age serve him for hourelly lessons; as *Percontatorem fugito nam garrulus idem est, Dum tibi quisque placet credula turba sumas*. But the fitnes it hath for memorie, is notably proved by all deliverie of Arts, wherein for the most part, from *Grammer*, to *Logick*, *Mathematickes*, *Phisick*, and the rest, the Rules chiefly necessarie to be borne away, are compiled in verses. So that verse being in it selfe sweet and orderly, and being best for memorie, the onely handle of knowledge, it must be in jest that any man can speak against it. Now then goe we to the most important imputations laid to the poore *Poets*, for ought I can yet learne, they are these. First, that there beeing manie other more frutefull knowledges, a man might better spend his time in them, then in this. Secondly, that it is the mother of lyes. Thirdly, that it is the nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires, with a *Sirens* sweetnesse, drawing the minde to the Serpents taile of sinfull fansies; and herein especially *Comedies* give the largest field to eare, as *Chawcer* saith, how both in other nations and in ours, before *Poets* did soften us, we were full of courage givē to martial exercises, the pillars of manlike libertie, and not lulled a sleepe in shadie idlenes, with *Poets* pastimes. And lastly and chiefly, they cry out with open mouth as if they had overshot *Robinhood*, that *Plato* banished them out of his Commonwealth. Truly this is much, if there be much truth in it. First to the first. That a man might better spend his time, is a reason indeed: but it doth as they say, but *petere principium*. For if it be, as I affirme, that no learning is so good, as that which teacheth and moveth to vertue, and that none can both teach and move thereto so much as *Poesie*, then is the conclusion manifest; that incke and paper cannot be to a more profitable purpose imployed. And certainly though a man should graunt their first assumption, it should follow (mee thinks) very unwillingly, that good is not good, because better is better. But I still and utterly deny, that there is sprung out of earth a more fruitfull knowledge. To the second therefore, that they should be the principall lyers, I answer *Paradoxically*, but truly, I think truly: that of all writers under the Sunne, the Poet is the least lyer: and though he wold, as a *Poet* can scarcely be a lyer. The

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Astronomer with his cousin the *Geometrician*, can hardly escape, when they take upon them to measure the height of the starres. How often thinke you do the *Phisitians* lie, when they averre things good for sicknesses, which afterwards send *Charon* a great number of soules drownd in a potion, before they come to his Ferrie? And no lesse of the rest, which take upon them to affirme. Now for the *Poet*, he nothing affirmeth, and therefore never lieth: for as I take it, to lie, is to affirme that to bee true, which is false. So as the other *Artistes*, and especially the *Historian*, affirming manie things, can in the clowdie knowledge of mankinde, hardly escape from manie lies. But the *Poet* as I said before, never affirmeth, the *Poet* never maketh any Circles about your imaginatiö, to conjure you to beleeeve for true, what he writeth: he citeth not authorities of other histories, but evē for his entrie, calleth the sweete *Muses* to inspire unto him a good invention. In troth, not lāboring to tel you what is, or is not, but what should, or should not be. And therefore though he recount things not true, yet because he telleth them not for true, he lieth not: without we will say, that *Nathan*, lied in his speech before alleaged to *David*, which as a wicked man durst scarce say, so think I none so simple wold say, that *Esope* lied in the tales of his beasts: for who thinketh that *Esope* wrote it for actually true, were wel worthie to have his name Cronicled among the beasts he writeth of. What childe is there, that coming to a play, and seeing *Thebes* written in great letters upon an old doore, doth beleeeve that it is *Thebes*? If then a man can arrive to the childes age, to know that the *Poets* persons and dooings, are but pictures, what should be, and not stories what have bin, they will never give the lie to things not Affirmatively, but Allegorically and figuratively written; and therefore as in historie looking for truth, they may go away full fraught with falshood: So in *Poesie*, looking but for fiction, they shal use the narration but as an imaginative groundplat of a profitable invention. But hereto is replied, that the *Poets* give names to men they write of, which argueth a conceit of an actuall truth, and so not being true, prooveth a falshood. And dooth the *Lawier* lye, then when under the names of *John* of the *Stile* and *John* of the *Nokes*, hee putteth his Case? But that is easily answered, their naming of men, is but to make their picture the more lively, and not to build anie Historie. Painting men, they can-

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not leave men namelesse : wee see, wee cannot plaie at Chestes, but that wee must give names to our Chessemen ; and yet mee thinkes he were a verie partiall Champion of truth, that would say wee lyed, for giving a peece of wood the reverende title of a Bishop. The *Poet* nameth *Cyrus* and *Aeneas*, no other way, then to shewe what men of their fames, fortunes, and estates, should doo. ✓ Their third is, how much it abuseth mens wit, training it to wanton sinfulness, and lustfull love. For indeed that is the principall if not onely abuse, I can heare allcadged. They say the *Comedies* rather teach then reprehend amorous cōceits. They say the *Lirick* is larded with passionat *Sonets*, the *Elegiack* weeps the want of his mistresse, and that even to the *Heroical*, *Cupid* hath ambitiously climed. Alas Love, I would thou couldest as wel defend thy selfe, as thou canst offend others : I would those on whom thou doest attend, could either put thee away, or yeeld good reason why they keepe thee. But grant love of bewtie to be a beastly fault, although it be verie hard, since onely man and no beast hath that gift to discerne bewty, graunt that lovely name of love, to deserve all hatefull reproches, although even some of my maisters the *Philosophers* spent a good deale of their Lampoyle in setting foorth the excellencie of it, graunt I say, what they will have graunted, that not onelie love, but lust, but vanitie, but if they list scurrilitie, possesse manie leaves of the *Poets* bookes, yet thinke I, when this is graunted, they will finde their sentence may with good manners put the last words foremost ; and not say, that *Poetrie* abuseth mans wit, but that mans wit abuseth *Poetrie*. For I will not denie, but that mans wit may make *Poesie*, which should be *ῥικαστικὴ*, which some learned have defined figuring foorth good things to be *φανταστικὴ* : which doth contrariwise infect the fancie with unwoorthy objects, as the Painter should give to the eye eyther some excellent perspective, or some fine Picture fit for building or fortification, or containing in it some notable example, as *Abraham* sacrificing his sonne *Isaack*, *Judith* killing *Holofernes*, *David* fighting with *Golias*, may leave those, and please an ill pleased eye with wanton shewes of better hiddē matters. But what, shal the abuse of a thing, make the right use odious ? Nay truly, though I yeeld, that *Poesie* may not onely be abused, but that being abused by the reason of his sweete charming force, it can do more hurt then anie other armie of words : yet

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shall it be so farre from concluding, that the abuse should give reproach to the abused, that cōtrariwise, it is a good reason, that whatsoever being abused, doth most harme, being rightly used (and upon the right use, ech thing receives his title) doth most good. Do we not see skill of Phisicke the best ramper to our often assaulted bodies, being abused, teach poyson the most violent destroyer? Doth not knowledge of Law, whose end is, to even & right all things, being abused, grow the crooked fosterer of horrible injuries? Doth not (to go to the highest) Gods word abused, breede heresie, and his name abused, become blasphemie? Truly a Needle cannot do much hurt, and as truly (with leave of Ladies be it spoken) it cannot do much good. With a swoord thou maist kill thy Father, and with a swoord thou maist defend thy Prince and Countrey: so that, as in their calling *Poets*, fathers of lies, they said nothing, so in this their argument of abuse, they proove the commendation. They alledge herewith, that before *Poets* began to be in price, our Nation had set their hearts delight uppon action, and not imagination, rather doing things worthie to be written, thẽ writing things fit to be done. What that before time was, I think scarcely *Spinx* can tell: since no memerie is so ancient, that hath not the precedens of *Poetrie*. And certain it is, that in our plainest homelines, yet never was the *Albion* Nation without *Poetrie*. Marry this Argument, though it be leveled against *Poetrie*, yet is it indeed, a chain-shot against all learning or bookishnes, as they commonly terme it. Of such mind were certaine *Gothes*, of whom it is written, that having in the spoile of a famous Cittie, taken a faire Librarie, one hangman belike fit to execute the frutes of their wits, who had murdered a great number of bodies, woulde have set fire in it. No said another verie gravely, take heed what you do, for while they are busie about those toyes, wee shall with more leisure conquere their Countries. This indeed is the ordinarie doctrine of ignorance, and many words sometimes I have heard spent in it: but because this reason is generally against al learning, as wel as *Poetrie*, or rather all learning but *Poetrie*, because it were too large a digression to handle it, or at least too superfluous, since it is manifest that all government of action is to be gotten by knowledge, and knowledge best, by gathering manie knowledges, which is reading; I onely with *Horace*, to him that is of that opinion, *Jubio stultum*

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esse libenter: for as for *Poetrie* it selfe, it is the freest from this objection, for *Poetrie* is the Companion of Camps. I dare undertake, *Orlando Furioso*, or honest king *Arthure*, will never displease a souldier: but the quidditie of *Ens & Prima materia*, will hardly agree with a Corcelet. And therefore as I said in the beginning, even *Turkes* and *Tartars*, are delighted with *Poets*. *Homer* a *Greeke*, flourished, before *Greece* flourished: and if to a slight conjecture, a conjecture may bee apposed, truly it may seem, that as by him their learned mē tooke almost their first light of knowledge, so their active men, received their first motions of courage. Onely *Alexanders* example may serve, who by *Plutarche* is accounted of such vertue, that fortune was not his guide, but his footestoole, whose Acts speake for him, though *Plutarche* did not: indeede the *Phænix* of warlike Princes. This *Alexander*, left his Schoolemaister living *Aristotle* behinde him, but tooke dead *Homer* with him. Hee put the Philosopher *Callisthenes* to death, for his seeming Philosophicall, indeed mutinous stubbornnesse, but the chiefe thing hee was ever heard to wish for, was, that *Homer* had bene alive. Hee well founde hee received more braverie of minde by the paterne of *Achilles*, then by hearing the definition of fortitude. And therefore if *Cato* misliked *Fulvius* for carrying *Ennius* with him to the field, It may be answered, that if *Cato* misliked it, the Noble *Fulvius* liked it, or else he had not done it; for it was not the excellent *Cato Uticensis*, whose authoritie I would much more have revered: But it was the former, in truth a bitter punisher of faultes, but else a man that had never sacrificed to the *Graces*. Hee misliked and cried out against all *Greeke* learning, and yet being foure score yeares olde beganne to learne it, belike fearing that *Pluto* understood not *Latine*. Indeed the *Romane* lawes allowed no person to bee carried to the warres, but hee that was in the souldiers Role. And therefore though *Cato* misliked his unmustred person, he misliked not his worke. And if hee had, *Scipio Nasica* (judged by common consent the best *Romane*) loved him: both the other *Scipio* brothers, who had by their vertues no lesse surnames then of *Asia* and *Affricke*, so loved him, that they caused his bodie to be buried in their Sepulture. So as *Catoes* authoritie beeing but against his person, and that answered with so farre greater then himselfe, is herein of no validitie. But now indeede my burthen is great, that *Plato* his

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name is laide uppon mee, whom I must confesse of all *Philosophers*, I have ever esteemed most worthie of reverence; and with good reason, since of all *Philosophers* hee is the most *Poeticall*: yet if hee will defile the fountaine out of which his flowing streames have proceeded, let us boldly examine with what reasons hee did it. First truly a man might maliciously object, that *Plato* being a *Philosopher*, was a naturall enemy of *Poets*. For indeede after the *Philosophers* had picked out of the sweete misteries of *Poetrie*, the right discerning true points of knowledge: they forthwith putting it in methode, and making a Schoole Art of that which the *Poets* did onely teach by a divine delightfulness, beginning to spurne at their guides, like ungratefull Prentices, were not content to set up shop for themselves, but sought by all meanes to discredit their maisters, which by the force of delight being barred them, the lesse they could overthrow them, the more they hated them. For indeed they found for *Homer*, seven Cities strave who should have him for their Cittizen, where many Cities banished *Philosophers*, as not fit members to live among them. For onely repeating certaine of *Euripides* verses, many *Atheniens* had their lives saved of the *Siracusans*, where the *Atheniens* themselves thought many *Philosophers* unworthie to live. Certaine *Poets*, as *Simonides*, and *Pindarus*, had so prevailed with *Hiero* the first, that of a Tyrant they made him a just King: where *Plato* could do so little with *Dionisius*, that he himselfe of a *Philosopher*, was made a slave. But who should do thus, I confesse should requite the objections made against *Poets*, with like cavillations against *Philosophers*: as likewise one should do, that should bid one read *Phædrus* or *Simposium* in *Plato*, or the discourse of love in *Plutarch*, and see whether any *Poet* do authorize abhominable filthinesse as they doo. Againe, a man might aske, out of what Common-wealth *Plato* doth banish them, in sooth, thence where he himselfe alloweth communitie of women. So as belike this banishment grew not for effeminate wantonnesse, since little should Poetical *Sonnets* be hurtful, when a man might have what woman he listed. But I honor Philosophicall instructions, and lesse the wits which bred them: so as they be not abused, which is likewise stretched to *Poetrie*. *S. Paul* himselfe sets a watch-word uppon *Philosophie*, indeed uppon the abuse. So doth *Plato* uppon the abuse, not uppon *Poetrie*. *Plato* found fault that the *Poettes*

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of his time, filled the worlde with wrong opinions of the Gods, making light tales of that unspotted essence; and therefore wold not have the youth depraved with such opinions: heerin may much be said; let this suffice. The *Poets* did not induce such opinions, but did imitate those opinions already induced. For all the *Greeke* stories can well testifie, that the verie religiō of that time, stood upon many, and many fashioned Gods: Not taught so by *Poets*, but followed according to their nature of imitation. Who list may read in *Plutarch*, the discourses of *Isis* and *Osiris*, of the cause why Oracles ceased, of the divine providence, & see whether the *Theology* of that nation, stood not upon such dreams, which the *Poets* indeede superstitiously observed. And truly since they had not the light of Christ, did much better in it, then the *Philosophers*, who shaking off superstition, brought in *Atheisme*. *Plato* therefore, whose authoritie, I had much rather justly cōsture, then unjustly resist: ment not in generall of *Poets*, in those words of which *Julius Scaliger* saith; *Qua autoritate barbari quidam, atque hispidi abuti velint ad poetas ē rep. exigendos*. But only ment to drive out those wrong opinions of the Deitie: wherof now without further law, *Christianitie* hath taken away all the hurtful beliefe, perchance as he thought nourished by then esteemed *Poets*. And a man need go no further then to *Plato* himselfe to knowe his meaning: who in his Dialogue called *Ion*, giveth high, and rightly divine commendation unto *Poetrie*. So as *Plato* banishing the abuse, not the thing, not banishing it, but giving due honour to it, shall be our Patron, and not our adversarie. For indeed, I had much rather, since truly I may do it, shew their mistaking of *Plato*, under whose Lyons skinne, they would make an Aslike braying against *Poesie*, then go about to overthrow his authoritie; whome the wiser a man is, the more just cause he shall finde to have in admiration: especially since he attributeth unto *Poesie*, more then my selfe do; namely, to be a verie inspiring of a divine force, farre above mans wit, as in the forenamed Dialogue is apparant. Of the other side, who would shew the honours have bene by the best sort of judgements graunted them, a whole sea of examples woulde present themselves; *Alexanders*, *Cæsars*, *Scipioes*, all favourers of *Poets*: *Lælius*, called the *Romane Socrates* himselfe a *Poet*; so as part of *Heautontimorumenon* in *Terence*, was supposed to bee made by him. And even the *Greeke Socrates*,

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whome *Appollo* confirmed to bee the onely wise man, is said to have spent part of his olde time in putting *Esopes* Fables into verses. And therefore full evill should it become his scholler *Plato*, to put such words in his maisters mouth against *Poets*. But what needs more? *Aristotle* writes the Arte of *Poesie*, and why, if it should not bee written? *Plutarche* teacheth the use to bee gathered of them, and how, if they should not bee reade? And who reades *Plutarches* either Historie or *Philosophie*, shall finde hee trimmeth both their garments with gardes of *Poesie*. But I list not to defend *Poesie* with the helpe of his underling *Historiographie*. Let it suffice to have shewed, it is a fit soyle for praise to dwell uppon: and what dispraise may set uppon it, is either easily overcome, or transformed into just commendation. So that since the excellencies of it, may bee so easily and so justly confirmed, and the lowe creeping objections so soone trodden downe, [it not beeing an Art of lyes, but of true doctrine; not of effœminatenesse, but of notable stirring of courage; not of abusing mans wit, but of strengthening mans wit; not banished, but honored by *Plato*: Let us rather plant more Lawrels for to ingarland the *Poets* heads (which honor of being Lawrcate, as besides them onely triumphant Captaines were, is a sufficient authoritie to shewe the price they ought to bee held in) then suffer the ill savoured breath of such wrong speakers once to blow uppon the cleare springs of *Poesie*. But since I have runne so long a Carrier in this matter, me thinkes before I give my penne a full stoppe, it shall be but a litle more lost time, to enquire why England the Mother of excellent mindes should be growne so hard a stepmother to *Poets*, who certainly in wit ought to passe all others, since all onely proceedes from their wit, beeing indeed makers of themselves, not takers of others. How can I but exclaime. *Musa mihi causas memora quo numine læso*, Sweete *Poesie* that hath aunciently had Kings, Emperours, Senatours, great Captaines, such as besides a thousandes others, *David*, *Adrian*, *Sophocles*, *Germanicus*, not onelie to favour *Poets*, but to bee *Poets*, and of our nearer times, can present for her Patrons, a *Robert* king of *Scicill*, the great king *Fraunces* of *France*, King *James* of *Scotland*; such Cardinalls as *Bembus*, and *Bibiæna*; suche famous Preachers and Teachers, as *Beza* and *Melanchthon*; so learned *Philosophers*, as *Fracastorius*, and *Scaliger*; so great Orators, as *Pontanus* and *Muretus*; so pearcing wits, as *George*

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Buchanan; so grave Counsaillours, as besides manie, but before all, that *Hospitall of Fraunce*; then whome I thinke that Realme never brought forth a more accomplished judgement, more firmly builded upō vertue: I say these with numbers of others, not onely to read others *Poesies*, but to *poetise* for others reading; that *Poesie* thus embraced in all other places, should onely finde in our time a hard welcome in England. I thinke the verie earth laments it, and therefore deckes our soyle with fewer Lawrels then it was accustomed. For heretofore, *Poets* have in England also flourished: and which is to be noted, even in those times when the Trumpet of *Mars* did sound lowdest. And now that an over faint quietnesse should seeme to strowe the house for *Poets*. They are almost in as good reputation, as the *Mountebanckes* at *Venice*. Truly even that, as of the one side it giveth great praise to *Poesie*, which like *Venus* (but to better purpose) had rather be troubled in the net with *Mars*, then enjoy the homely quiet of *Vulcan*. So serveth it for a peece of a reasō, why they are lesse gratefull to idle England, which now can scarce endure the paine of a penne. Upon this necessarily followeth, that base men with servill wits undertake it, who thinke it inough if they can be rewarded of the Printer: and so as *Epaminondas* is said with the honor of his vertue to have made an Office, by his exercising it, which before was contemtible, to become highly respected: so these men no more but setting their names to it, by their own disgracefulnesse, disgrace the most gracefull *Poesie*. For now as if all the *Muses* were got with childe, to bring forth bastard Poets: without any commission, they do passe over the Bankes of *Helicon*, till they make the Readers more wearie then Post-horses: while in the meane time, they *Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan*, are better content to suppress the out-flowings of their wit, then by publishing them, to be accounted Knights of the same order. But I that before ever I durst aspire unto the dignitie, am admitted into the companie of the *Paper-blurrers*, do finde the verie true cause of our wanting estimation, is want of desert, taking upon us to be *Poets*, in despite of *Pallas*. Now wherein we want desert, were a thank woorthie labour to expresse. But if I knew I should have mended my selfe, but as I never desired the title, so have I neglected the meanes to come by it, onely over-mastered by some thoughts, I yeelded an inckie tribute unto them. Marrie

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they that delight in *Poesie* it selfe, should seek to know what they do, and how they do: and especially looke themselves in an unflattering glasse of reason, if they be enclinable unto it. For *Poesie* must not be drawne by the cares, it must be gently led, or rather it must lead, which was partly the cause that made the auncient learned affirme, it was a divine gift & no humane skill; since all other knowledges lie readie for anie that have strength of wit: A *Poet* no industrie can make, if his owne *Genius* be not carried into it. And therefore is an old Proverbe, *Orator fit, Poeta nascitur*. Yet confesse I alwaies, that as the fertilest ground must be manured, so must the highest flying wit have a *Dedalus* to guide him. That *Dedalus*, they say both in this and in other, hath three wrings to beare it selfe up into the ayre of due commendation: that is Art, Imitation, and Exercise. But these neither Artificiall Rules, nor imitative paternes, we much comber our selves withall. Exercise indeed we do, but that verie fore-backwardly; for where we should exercise to know, we exercise as having knowne: and so is our braine delivered of much matter, which never was begotten by knowledge. For there being two principall parts, Matter to be expressed by words, and words to expresse the matter: In neither, wee use Art or imitation rightly. Our matter is, *Quodlibet*, indeed though wrongly performing, *Ovids* Verse. *Quicquid conabor dicere, Versus erit*: never marshalling it into anie assured ranck, that almost the Readers cannot tell where to finde themselves. *Chawcer* undoubtedly did excellently in his *Troilus* and *Creseid*: of whome trulie I knowe not whether to mervaille more, either that hee in that mistie time could see so clearly, or that wee in this cleare age, goe so stumblingly after him. Yet had hee great wants, fit to be forgiven in so reverent an Antiquitie. I account the Mirrour of Magistrates, meetly furnished of bewtiful partes. And in the Earle of *Surreis* *Lirickes*, manie thinges tasting of a Noble birth, and worthie of a Noble minde. The Sheepheards Kalender, hath much *Poetrie* in his Egloges, indeed woorthie the reading, if I be not deceived. That same framing of his style to an olde rusticke language, I dare not allow: since neither *Theocritus* in Greeke, *Virgill* in Latine, nor *Sanazara* in Italian, did affect it. Besides these, I doo not remember to have seene but fewe (to speake boldly) printed, that have poetically sinnewes in them. For prooffe whereof, let but moste of the Verses bee

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put in prose, and then aske the meaning, and it will bee founde, that one Verse did but beget an other, without ordering at the first, what should bee at the last, which becomes a confused masse of words, with a tingling sound of ryme, barely accompanied with reasons. Our Tragidies and Commedies, not without cause cryed out against, observing rules neither of honest civilitie, nor skilfull *Poetrie*. Excepting *Gorboducke*, (againe I say of those that I have seen) which notwithstanding as it is full of stately speeches, and wel sounding phrases, clyming to the height of *Seneca* his style, and as full of notable morallitie, which it dooth most delightfully teach, and so obtaine the very ende of *Poesie*. Yet in truth, it is verie defectious in the circumstaunces, which greeves mee, because it might not remaine as an exact modell of all Tragidies. For it is faultie both in place and time, the two necessarie Companions of all corporall actions. For where the Stage should alway represent but one place, and the uttermoste time presupposed in it, should bee both by *Aristotles* precept, and common reason, but one day; there is both manie dayes and places, inartificially imagined. But if it bee so in *Gorboducke*, howe much more in all the rest, where you shall have *Asia* of the one side, and *Affricke* of the other, and so manie other under Kingdomes, that the Player when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now you shall have three Ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we must beleewe the stage to be a garden. By and by we heare newes of shipwrack in the same place, then we are too blame if we accept it not for a Rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hidious monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a Cave: while in the meane time two Armies flie in, represented with foure swords & bucklers, and thẽ what hard hart wil not receive it for a pitched field. Now of time, they are much more liberall. For ordinarie it is, that two yoong Princes fall in love, after many traverses she is got with childe, delivered of a faire boy: he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love, and is readie to get an other childe, and all this in two houres space: which howe absurd it is in sence, even sence may imagine: and Arte hath taught, and all auncient examples justified, and at this day the ordinarie players in *Italie* will not erre in. Yet will some bring in an example of *Eunuche* in

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Terence, that conteineth matter of two dayes, yet far short of twentie yeares. True it is, and so was it to be played in two dayes, and so fitted to the time it set foorth. And though *Plautus* have in one place done amisse, let us hit it with him, & not misse with him. But they will say, how then shall we set foorth a storie, which contains both many places, and many times? And do they not know that a Tragicdie is tied to the lawes of *Poesie* and not of *Historie*: not bounde to follow the storie, but having libertie either to faine a quite new matter, or to frame the *Historie* to the most Tragicall conveniencie. Againe many things may be told which cannot be shewed: if they know the difference betwixt reporting and representing. As for example, I may speake though I am here, of *Peru*, and in speech digresse from that, to the description of *Calecut*: But in action, I cannot represent it without *Pacolets* Horse. And so was the manner the Auncients tooke, by some *Nuntius*, to recount things done in former time or other place. Lastly, if they will represent an *Historie*, they must not (as *Horace* saith) beginne *ab ovo*, but they must come to the principall poynte of that one action which they will represent. By example this will be best expressed. I have a storie of yoong *Polidorus*, delivered for safeties sake with great riches, by his Father *Priamus*, to *Polminester* King of *Thrace*, in the *Troyan* warre time. He after some yeares, hearing the overthrowe of *Priamus*, for to make the treasure his owne, murthereth the Childe, the bodie of the Childe is taken up, *Hecuba*, shee the same day, findeth a sleight to bee revenged moste cruelly of the Tyrant. Where nowe would one of our Tragedie writers begin, but with the deliverie of the Childe? Then should hee saile over into *Thrace*, and so spende I know not howe many yeares, and travaile numbers of places. But where dooth *Euripides*? even with the finding of the bodie, the rest leaving to be told by the spirite of *Polidorus*. This needes no further to bee enlarged, the dullest witte may conceive it. But besides these grosse absurdities, howe all their Playes bee neither right Tragedies, nor right Comedies, mingling Kinges and Clownes, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in the Clowne by head and shoulders to play a part in majesticall matters, with neither decencie nor discretion: so as neither the admiration and Commiseration, nor the right sportfulnesse is by their mongrell Tragicomedie obtained. I know *Apuleius* did

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somewhat so, but that is a thing recounted with space of time, not represented in one moment: and I knowe the Auncients have one or two examples of Tragicomedies, as *Plautus* hath *Amphitrio*. But if we marke them well, wee shall finde that they never or verie daintily matche horne Pipes and Funeralls. So falleth it out, that having indeed no right Comedie in that Comickall part of our Tragidie, wee have nothing but scurrillitie unwoorthie of anie chaste eares, or some extreame shewe of doltishnesse, indeede fit to lift up a loude laughter and nothing else: where the whole tract of a Comedie should be full of delight, as the Tragidie should bee still maintained, in a well raised admiration. But our Comedients thinke there is no delight without laughter, which is verie wrong, for though laughter may come with delight, yet commeth it not of delight, as though delight should be the cause of laughter. But well may one thing breed both together. Nay rather in themselves, they have as it were a kinde of contrarietie: For delight wee scarcely doo, but in thinges that have a conveniencie to our selves, or to the generall nature: Laughter almost ever commeth of thinges moste disproportioned to our selves, and nature. Delight hath a joy in it either permanent or present. Laughter hath onely a scornfull tickling. For example, wee are ravished with delight to see a faire woman, and yet are farre from beeing mooved to laughter. Wee laugh at deformed creatures, wherein certainly wee cannot delight. We delight in good chaunces, wee laugh at mischaunces. We delight to heare the happinesse of our friendes and Countrey, at which hee were worthie to be laughed at, that would laugh: we shall contrarily laugh sometimes to finde a matter quite mistaken, and goe downe the hill against the byas, in the mouth of some such men as for the respect of them, one shall be hartily sorie, he cannot chuse but laugh, and so is rather pained, then delighted with laughter. Yet denie I not, but that they may goe well together, for as in *Alexanders* picture well set out, wee delight without laughter, and in twentie madde Antiques, we laugh without delight. So in *Hercules*, painted with his great beard, and furious countenance, in a womans attyre, spinning, at *Omphales* commaundement, it breedes both delight and laughter: for the representing of so straunge a power in Love, procures delight, and the scornefulness of the action, stirreth laughter. But I speake to this

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purpose, that all the ende of the Comicall part, bee not uppon suche scornefull matters as stirre laughter onelie, but mixe with it, that delightfull teaching whiche is the ende of *Poesie*. And the great faulte even in that poynt of laughter, and forbidden plainly by *Aristotle*, is, that they stirre laughter in sinfull things, which are rather execrable then ridiculous: or in miserable, which are rather to be pitied then scorned. For what is it to make folkes gape at a wretched begger, and a beggerly Clowne: or against lawe of hospitalitie, to jeast at straungers, because they speake not English so well as we do? What doo we learne, since it is certaine, *Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se, Quam quod ridiculos homines facit*. But rather a busie loving Courtier, and a hartlesse threatning *Thraso*; a selfe-wise seeming Schoolemaister, a wry transformed Traveller: these if we saw walke in Stage names, which we plaie naturally, therein were delightfull laughter, and teaching delightfulnesse, as in the other, the Tragidies of *Buchanan* do justly bring foorth a divine admiration. But I have lavished out too many words of this Play-matter; I do it, because as they are excelling parts of *Poesie*, so is there none so much used in England, and none can be more pittifully abused: which like an unmannerly daughter, shewing a bad education, causeth her mother *Poesies* honestie to be called in question. Other sort of *Poetrie*, almost have we none, but that *Lyricall* kind of Songs and Sonets; which Lord, if he gave us so good mindes, how well it might be employed, and with howe heavenly, fruites, both private and publike, in singing the praises of the immortall bewtie, the immortall goodnes of that God, who giveth us hands to write, and wits to conceive: of which we might wel want words, but never matter, of which we could turne our eyes to nothing, but we should ever have new budding occasions. But truly many of such writings, as come under the banner of unresistable love, if I were a mistresse, would never perswade mee they were in love: so coldly they applie firie speeches, as men that had rather redde lovers writings, and so caught up certaine swelling Phrases, which hang together like a man that once tolde me the winde was at Northwest, and by South, because he would be sure to name winds inough, then that in truth they feele those passions, which easily as I thinke, may be bewraied by that same forciblenesse or *Energia*, (as the Greeks call it of the writer). But let this be a sufficient, though

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short note, that we misse the right use of the matrace of time, *Poesie*. Now, for the outside of it, which is words, e Auncients tearme it) *Diction*, it is even well worse: so is it *'lautus* hath flowing Matrone *Eloquence*, apparrelled, or rather dis that they a Courtisanlike painted affectation. One time with scalls. So words, that many seeme monsters, but must seeme stin that to anie poore Englishman: an other time with coursirillitie letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a Dictioe of an other time with figures and flowers, extreemlie winter-stahing But I would this fault were onely peculiar to Versefiers, and of not as large possessiö among Prose-Printers: and which is toell mervailed among many Schollers, & which is to be pitied amo some Preachers. Truly I could wish, if at least I might be bold to wish, in a thing beyond the reach of my capacity, the diligent Imitators of *Tully & Demosthenes*, most worthie to be imitated, did not so much keepe *Nizolian* paper bookes of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation, as it were, devoure them whole, and make them wholly theirs. For now they cast Suger and spice uppon everie dish that is served to the table: like those *Indians*, not content to weare eare-rings at the fit and naturall place of the eares, but they will thrust Jewels through their nose and lippes, because they will be sure to be fine. *Tully* when he was to drive out *Catiline*, as it were with a thunderbolt of eloquence, often useth the figure of repitition, as *Vivit & vincit, imo in senatum, Venit imo, in senatum venit, &c.* Indee de enflamed, with a well grounded rage, hee would have his words (as it were) double out of his mouth, and so do that artificially, which we see men in choller doo naturally. And we having noted the grace of those words, hale them in sometimes to a familiar Epistle, when it were too much choller to be chollericke. How well store of *Similiter Cadenses*, doth sound with the gravitie of the Pulpit, I woulde but invoke *Demosthenes* soule to tell: who with a rare daintinesse useth them. Truly they have made mee thinke of the *Sophister*, that with too much subtiltie would prove two Egges three, and though he might bee counted a *Sophister*, had none for his labour. So these men bringing in such a kinde of eloquence, well may they obtaine an opinion of a seeming finenesse, but perswade few, which should be the ende of their finenesse. Now for similitudes in certain Printed discourses, I thinke all Herberists, all stories of beasts, foules, and fishes, are

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purpose, that they may come in multitudes to waite upon any suche scornets, which certainly is as absurd a surfet to the eares it, that deli. For the force of a similitude not being to prove the great to a contrary disputer, but onely to explaine to a willing plainly when that is done, the rest is a moste tedious pratling, which ouerswaying the memorie from the purpose whereto they which applyed, then anie whit enforming the judgement alreadie maker satisfied, or by similitudes not to be satisfied. For my or age I doo not doubt, when *Antonius* and *Crassus*, the great speafathers of *Cicero* in eloquence, the one (as *Cicero* testifieth of them) pretended not to knowe Art, the other not to set by it, because with a plaine sensibleness, they might winne credit of popular eares, which credit, is the nearest steppe to perswasion, which perswasion, is the chiefe marke of Oratorie) I do not doubt I say, but that they used these knacks verie sparingly, which who doth generally use, any man may see doth dance to his owne musick, and so to be noted by the audience, more careful to speak curiously, then truly. Undoubtedly (at least to my opinion undoubtedly) I have found in divers smal learned Courtiers, a more sound stile, then in some professors of learning, of which I can gesse no other cause, but that the Courtier following that which by practise he findeth fittest to nature, therein (though he know it not) doth according to art, thogh not by art: where the other using art to shew art and not hide art (as in these cases he shuld do) flieth from nature, & indeed abuseth art. But what? methinks, I deserve to be poinded for straying from *Poetrie*, to *Oratory*: but both have such an affinitie in the wordish consideratiō, that I think this digression will make my meaning receive the fuller understanding: which is not to take upon me to teach *Poets* how they should do, but only finding my selfe sicke among the rest, to shew some one or two spots of the common infection growne among the most part of writers; that acknowledging our selves somewhat awry, wee may bende to the right use both of matter and manner. Whereto our language giveth us great occasion, being indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it. I knowe some will say it is a mingled language: And why not, so much the better, taking the best of both the other? Another will say, it wanteth Grammer. Nay truly it hath that praise that it wants not Grammer; for Grammer it might have, but it needs it not, being so easie in it selfe,

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and so voyd of those combersome differences of *Cases*, *Genders*, *Moods*, & *Tenses*, which I thinke was a peece of the Tower of *Babilons* curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learn his mother tongue. But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the minde, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world. And is peticularly happy in compositions of two or three wordes together, neare the Greeke, farre beyond the Latine, which is one of the greatest bewties can be in a language. Now of versefying, there are two sorts, the one auncient, the other moderne. The auncient marked the quantitie of each sillable, and according to that, framed his verse: The moderne, observing onely number, with some regard of the accent; the chiefe life of it, standeth in that like sounding of the words, which we call Rime. Whether of these be the more excellent, wold bear many speeches, the ancient no doubt more fit for Musick, both words and time observing quantitie, and more fit, lively to expresse divers passions by the low or loftie sound of the well-wayed sillable. The latter likewise with his rime striketh a certaine Musicke to the eare: and in fine, since it dooth delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose, there being in either sweetnesse, and wanting in neither, majestie. Truly the English, before any Vulgare language, I know is fit for both sorts: for, for the auncient, the *Italian* is so full of Vowels, that it must ever be combred with *Elisions*. The *Duch* so of the other side with Consonants, that they cannot yeeld the sweete slyding, fit for a Verse. The *French* in his whole language, hath not one word that hath his accent in the last sillable, saving two, called *Antepenultima*; and little more hath the *Spanish*, and therefore verie gracelesly may they use *Dactiles*. The English is subject to none of these defects. Now for Rime, though we doo not observe quantitie, yet wee observe the Accent verie precisely, which other languages either cannot do, or will not do so absolutely. That *Cæsura*, or breathing place in the midst of the Verse, neither *Italian* nor *Spanish* have: the *French* and we, never almost faile off. Lastly, even the verie Rime it selfe, the *Italian* cannot put it in the last sillable, by the *French* named the *Masculine* Rime; but still in the next to the last, which the *French* call the *Female*; or the next before that, which the Italian *Sdrucchiola*: the example of the former, is *Buono*, *Suono*, of the *Sdrucchiola* is *Femina*, *Semina*.

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The *French* of the other side, hath both the Male as *Bon, Son*; and the Female, as *Plaise, Taise*. But the *Sdrucciola* he hath not: where the English hath all three, as *Du, Trew, Father, Rather, Motion, Potion*, with much more which might be sayd, but that alreadie I finde the triflings of this discourse is much too much enlarged. So that since the ever-praise woorthie *Poesie* is full of vertue breeding delightfulness, and voyd of no gift that ought to be in the noble name of learning, since the blames layd against it, are either false or feeble, since the cause why it is not esteemed in England, is the fault of Poet-apes, not *Poets*. Since lastly, our tongue is most fit to honour *Poesie*, and to bee honoured by *Poesie*, I conjure you all that have had the evill luck to read this inck-wasting toy of mine, even in the name of the nine *Muses*, no more to scorne the sacred misteries of *Poesie*. No more to laugh at the name of *Poets*, as though they were next inheritors to fooles, no more to jest at the reverent title of a Rimer, but to beleeve with *Aristotle*, that they were the auncient Treasurers of the Grecians divinitie; to beleeve with *Bembus*, that they were first bringers in of all *Civillitie*; to beleeve with *Scalliger* that no *Philosophers* precepts can sooner make you an honest man, then the reading of *Virgil*; to beleeve with *Clauserus*, the Translator of *Cornutus*, that it pleased the heavenly deitie by *Hesiod* and *Homer*, under the vaile of Fables to give us all knowledge, *Logicke, Rhetoricke, Philosophie*, naturall and morall, and *Quid non?* To beleeve with me, that there are many misteries contained in *Poetrie*, which of purpose were written darkly, least by prophane wits it should be abused: To beleeve with *Landin*, that they are so beloved of the Gods, that whatsoever they write, proceeds of a divine furie. Lastly, to beleeve themselves when they tell you they will make you immortal by their verses. Thus doing, your name shall flourish in the Printers shops. Thus doing you shalbe of kin to many a Poeticall Preface. Thus doing, you shal be most faire, most rich, most wise, most all: you shall cwele upon Superlatives. Thus doing, though you be *Libertino patre natus*, you shall sodeinly grow *Herculea proles*. *Si quid mea Carmina possunt*. Thus doing, your soule shall be placed with *Dantes Beatrix*, or *Virgils Anchises*. But if (fie of such a but) you bee borne so neare the dull-making Cataract of *Nilus*, that you cannot heare the Planet-like Musicke of *Poetrie*; if you have so earth-creeeping a mind

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that it cannot lift it selfe up to looke to the skie of *Poetrie*, or rather by a certaine rusticall disdaine, wil become such a mome, as to bee a *Momus* of *Poetrie*: then though I will not wish unto you the Asses eares of *Midas*, nor to be driven by a *Poets* verses as *Bubonax* was, to hang himselfe, nor to be rimed to death as is said to be done in *Ireland*, yet thus much Curse I must send you in the behalfe of all *Poets*, that while you live, you live in love, and never get favour, for lacking skill of a Sonet, and when you die, your memory die from the earth for want of an Epitaphe.

FINIS.

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(A fragment.)

BUT the fowrthe pointe is it whiche in deede galls them, and wherein if the Deputy wolde withe a seconde intencion have halted, bothe to his prince and contrey he mighte perchawnce have broughte somthinge to passe, and yet not have had this grievous adoe. For this touchet[h] the privileges forsoothe, and privileged persons be all the riche men of the pale, the burdne only lyinge uppon the poore, who may grone, for theyr cry can not be hearde. And Lorde to see how shamefully they will speake for their contrey, that be in deede the Tirannious oppressours of their contrey. For thus in trothe it standes. The ceasse whiche in nature shoold ly indifferently uppon all the plowlandes of the contrey, is by very indirecte means broughte to be laide only uppon some one parte. The meanes have bene privilegedes grawnted by the Deputies of all tymes, wherby under colour of some good service (wherein God knows they are very barrein) he shoold be exempted from any suche charge. Whiche if it had bene a liberality to the party, withowt generall loss to his neighbours, it had bene the more sufferable, but now beinge bothe unjust, inconvenient, and standinge uppon no sufficient warrant the Deputy shoold to fur have omitted his dutie, to

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have lett it longer continewed. Since in deede withe tyme it wolde have growne an impossibility, that the poore remnant shoulde pay the hole.

Yet is it holy referred to the judgemente of the learned, for any suche priviledges as either prescription of tyme, any notable service done, or especially any princes grawnte mighte give juste grownde of justice unto. And thus do they cry that only have no cawse and the greате men not ashamed to complaine of cesse, that lay grievouser cesse, uppon gentlemen as good as them selves, whiche live under them either by fortune or their unjust usurpation then her Majestic dothe uppon any her meanest subjecte.

Fiftly come their pryvate complaintes wherein they fyndinge that one of the beste waies to come to the purpose they shote at, do seeke to discreditt, not so muche the governour as the governement, by his untrew informations, wherein they take a right liberty, whiche bids backbyte apace for mens nature is suche that thoughе the wownde be healed the skarre remaines. And so no soner one of this matters grows stale but that they bringe owt a freshe, beinge not ashamed that in this hole twelvemonthе they have not bene hable to bringe forthе any one matter which had bene judicially broughte before the Deputy and not fully determined of by him. A strange and unused cowrce in all provinciall cawses, that it shoulde thus soner be known here then to the governour. Neither is this way soughte for any other ende, but that by the disgrace of the Deputy, the people may be moved to cast of all reverence the only bond of dutie. But these thinges are then to be awnsivered when they bring forth somethinge worthy the paines. As for their scoldinges they are an other way to be awnsivered (beinge the only companions of abjecte myndes and false matters) becawse they seeme now to come under collour of matters of estate which withe all reverence is ever to be yeeldid unto.

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Sixtly, they greatly complaine that the Deputie did offer them an alteration of cesse to their ease, and in steede of that whiche they say is ten pownde charges, to take but fyve markes in name of a rente. Firste certainly it seemes strange that choosers shoulde complaine since it was never furdre forced uppon them, then

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they wolde of them selves but in deede they wolde have no cesse at all. Againe though some of them be so foolish, as they will be ledd away by the greate ones not to see their owne proffitt, what greate hurte is there, to bringe them by Authority to that whiche is their owne good: especially since they are suche as neither are to be cherished for any trew harte or service to the crowne, nor feared for any mighte they have. Now in that they say that shoulde grow to a perpetuity, where the cesse is but casual and therefore againste reason they shoulde accepte it. Truly either it muste be saide, that they hope to see the Queenes garrison that is to say her Authority, owt of the contrey, or else the one is of as much continuance as the other, since the garrison must necessarily have a cesse, and as well as the Queenes Majesty may remitt the cesse at any time, so well by lyke reason may it please her to remitt the said rente. So that the continuance is one, the Difference is betwixt ten pownde now and fyve markes then. And this I speake as an Irishe Advocate. But now lyke a trew englishe subjecte, and to esteeme *id maxime justum quod maxime convenit reipublicæ*. First ever remembre that they in no cace are to be egalled to this realme, &c. Then that they have no cawse at all herein to complaine, I must ever have in mynde this consideration. That there is no cawse neither in reason nor equity, why her most excellent Majesty shoulde be at such excessive expences to keepe a realme, of whiche skarsely she hath the Acknowledgemente of soverainty. Whiche can not possibly be helped but by one of these . 3 . meanes. Either by directe conquest to make [the] contrey hers, and so by one greate heape of charges to purchace that whiche in deede afterwarde wolde well cowntervaille the principall. Or else by diminishing that she dothe sende thither, or lastly withe force and gentlenes, to [raise] at leaste so muche rentes, as may serve to quyte the same charges.

Truly well may there be dyverse waies, but I thinke they will fall to one of these heds. The firste is allwaies excepted, and is in her Majesties handes to doe when it shall please her. The seconde what soever may be imagined will in fyne be fownde bothe dangerous at the firste sighte and impossible to continew. The laste resteth to whiche there can not be a more gentle way then this, whiche beares withe it an apparant ease of their great greivances. So that it comes to this pointe, that

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her Majesty hathe to choose, whether she will use suche bownty to them, as for their security only to continew her charge, or else to desyre them if they [be] so good subjectes as they say, in this reasonable way of her service to give example to the rest of the Irishry of dew subjection. And in deede this stretched to a furdre benefitt, for after the rente were once settled, the Sowldiours shoulde no lenger live uppon the englishe pale so shoulde that rente come cleerly to the Queene, and they be in garrison uppon the wylde, and by suche force bringe them to pay the rentes, as they have moste of them allreddy agreed unto. But this needes longer discource, and more perfitt knowledge then I confesse I have. Now only I hope it shall suffice, that a servante deserves not blame for openinge a way to save his princes treasure.

The laste pointe containes some thinges very worthy to be well waied first the unreverente tearminge her Majesties ordre sett downe, a farme to the Deputy, whiche the meaner sorte in deede blynded by the greate practisers doe beleewe, and thereby grow to unwillinge to doe any those duties, whiche otherwise they wolde most willingly embrace. And the great practisers doe by this meanes crosse directly the princes service, whilst they are not afeard opnely to say, that suche thinges grawntid to the Queene fall now to be the Deputies, whiche may serve to shew how furr they are contente to lett their malice goe. And this deserves no furdre wordes, but only thus furr, that suche are their opne and secrete dealinges, that it is impossible he shoulde holde him selfe to that stinte, wherein he only of all other governours remainethe tyed, since neither his cowrce is followed nor him selfe cowntenanced. The seconde consideration was, that lenity were better to be used then severe meanes. Truly the generall nature of all contreys not fully conquered is plainly against it. For untill by tyme they fynde the sweetenes of dew subjection, it is impossible that any gentle meanes shoulde putt owte the freshe remembrance of their loste lyberty. And that the Irishe man is that way as obstinate as any nation, withe whome no other passion can prevaile but feare besydes their storye whiche plainly painte it owte, their manner of lyfe wherein they choose rather all filthines then any law, and their owne consciences who beste know their owne natures, give sufficient

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proofe of. For under the son there is not a nation, whiche live more tiranniously then they doe one over the other. And truly even in her Majesties tyme, the rebellions of Oneale, and all the Earle of Wormaldes brethern, shew well, how little force any gratefull love dothe beare withe them. But lett the wyse determin of this and so lykewyse (whiche is the last mislyke) whether any tyme be more fitt then now, when all owr feared neighbours, have their hands full at home, for truly if now they be hable to spare men thither, better hable will they be hereafter in all lykelihode. And that these men will turne to any invading force, it is indeede to be lokd for, and therefore the meane tyme to be takne, to gett by good means as muche bothe rente and subjection as may be. For little is lenity to prevaile, in myndes so possest, withe a naturall inconstancy ever to goe to a new fortune, withe a revengefull hate to all englishe as to their only conquerours, and that whiche is most of all with so ignorant obstinacy in papistry, that they doe in their sowles deteste the presente government.

To conclude what so ever it shall please them that have bothe knowledge and power to determine, lett gracious consideracion be had of an honest servante, full of zeale in his princes service, and not withowt wellgrownded hopes of good successe.

And then can ther no cowlce nor person be determined uppon, but is to be by him with all humble joyfullnes accepted.

There is no so greate injustice, as that which putts on the coullour of demawnding justice.

The Emperour Julian to a busie accuser that tolde him if he beleevd no accuser, no man shoold be condemned, made awnswer, if he beleevd all accusers no man shoold be cleered.

A DISCOURSE OF SYR PH. S. TO THE QUEENES MAJESTY TOUCHING HIR MARIAGE WITH MONSIEUR.

MOST feared & beloved, most swete & gracious Soveraine
To seke out excuses of this my boldnes & to arme the
acknowledging of a faulte with reasons for it might better shewe,
I knew I did amisse then any whitt diminish the attempt especially
in your judgement who able lively to discerne into the nature
of the thing done, it wer folly to hope with laying on better
colours to make it more acceptable. Therfore carying no other
olive branches of intercession, but the lying myself at your
feete, nor no other insinuacion either for attention or pardon
but the true vowed sacrifice of unfeined love, I will in simple
& direct termes (as hoping they shall only come to your merci-
full eyes) sett down the over flowing of my minde in this most
important matter importing as I think, the continewance of
your safety, & as I know the joyes of my life. And because my
wordes I confesse shallow, but comming from the cleere well-
spring of most loyall affection have already delivred unto your
gracious eares, what is the general somme of my traveyling
thoughtes. Herein I will now but onely declare what be the
reasons that make me thinke the mariage of Monsieur unprofit-
able for you. Then will I answere your objections of those
feares which might procure so violent a refuge, the good or evill
which might come unto you by it, must be considered, either
according to your state or your person. To your Estate, what
can be added to the being an absolute borne & accordingly
respected princesse? But as they say, the Irishmen are wont
to tell them that dye, they are ritche, they are feare, what nede
they to dye? So truely to you indued with felicities byond all
others (though shorte of your desertes) a man may well aske,
what maketh you in such a calme to chaunge course, to so helth-
full a body to applye such a weary medecine? what hope can
recompense so hazardous an adventure? Hazardous indeed, if it
were for nothing but the altering a well maintained & well

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approved trade. For as in bodies naturall any soudain change is not without perill, so in this body politick wherof you are the onely head, it is so much the more as there ar more humours to receave a hurtfull impression. But hazardes are then most to be regarded, when the natures of the Agent & patient are fitly composed to occasionne them. The patient I accompt your realme, the agent Monsieur & his desseings. For neither outward accidentes doe much prevayle against a true inward strenght, nor inward weaknesse doth lightly subvert it self without being thrust at by some outward force. Your inward force (for as for your treasure indeed the sinewes of your Crowne your Majesty doth best & onely know) doth consist in your subjectes generally unexpert in warlike defence, and as they are divided into two mighty factions & factions bound upon the never ending knott of religion. The one is of them to whome your happy government hath granted the free exercise of the eternal truth. With these by the continuance of time, by the multitude of them, by the principall offices & strenghtes they holde, & lastly by your dealinges both at home & abroad against the adverse partye, your Estate is so inwrapped as it were impossible for you without excessive trouble, to put yourself out of the partie so long maintained: For such a course once taken is not much unlike to a shipp in a tempest, which how dangerously so ever it be beaten with waves, yet is there no safety nor succour without it. These therfore as their sowles live by your happy government, so are they your chefe, if not sole, strenght. These howsoever the necessity of human life make them looke, yet cannot they look for better condicions then presently they enjoye. These how their hartes will be galed, if not aliened, when they shall see you take to husband a frenchman & a papist, in whome howsoever fine wittes may finde either further daunger or painted excuses, yet very common people will know this that he is the sonne of that Jezabel of our age: that his brothers made oblacion of their owne sisters mariadge, the easier to make massacres of all sexes: That he himself contrary to his promise & against all gratefullnes, having had his liberty & principall estate cheefly by the Hugnotes meanes did sack la Charité & utterly spoiled Issoire with fire & sworde. This I say at the first sight geveth occasion to all the truely religious to abhorre such a master, & so consequently to diminishe much of their hopefull love they have long

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held in you. The other faction in dede most rightly to be called a faction is of the Papistes: men whose spirites are full of angushe, some being forced to othes they accompte damnable, some having their ambition stopped because they are not in the way of advancement: some in prison & disgrace, some whose best frendes are banished, practisers, many thinking you an usurper, many thinking the right you had disannulled by the Popes excomunicacion, all greved at the burdenous weight of their consciences, men of great number, of great riches, because the affaires of the Estate have not lyen upon them: of mindes united as all men that deame themselves oppressed naturally are, with them I would willingly joine all discontented persons suche as want or disgrace kepeth lower then they can sett their hartes: such as are resolved what they have to looke for at your handes: such, as Cæsar said: *Quibus opus est bello civili*; & are of Othos mind, *Malle in acie quam in foco cadere*. Those are men so much the more to be douted because as they embrace all estates so are they commonly of the bravest & wakefullest sorte & knowe the advantage of the world most. This double ranck of people how their mindes have stooode, the Northeren rebellions & infinit other practises have well taught you: which if it be said they did not prevaile, that is true indeed: for if they had prevailed, it were to late now to deliberate but at this present, they want nothing somuch as a head who shall in effect nede but to receave their instructions since they may doe mischefe enough onely with his countenance. Lett the singing man in Henry the IVths time, Perkin Warbeck in your grandfathers but of all the most lively & proper example is of Lewis the French kinges sonne in Henry the III^{ds} time (who having at all no shew of title here, yet did half the Nobility & more sweare direct fealty & wassalage, & delivred the strongest holdes unto him) be sufficient to prove that occasions geve mindes, scope to stranger thinges then ever would have ben imagined. If then the affectionat have their affections weakened, & the discontented have a gapp to utter their discontentacion I think it will seeme an evill preparative for the patient (I meane your Estate) to a greater siknes. Now for the Agent partie which is Monsieur whither he be not apt to worke upon the disadvantage of your Estate is to be judged by his will & his power: His will to be as full of light ambition as is possible, besides the frenche disposicion, & his owne educa-

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tion, his inconstant attemptes against his brother, his thrusting him self into the low countrey matters, he sometime seeking the king of Spaine daughter sometime your Majesty are evident testimonies of a light mind carried with every wind of hope, taught to love greatnes any way gotten & having the motionners & ministers of his minde onely such yong men as have shewed (they thinke) evill contentement a sufficient ground of any rebellion, whose ages geve them to have sen no commonwealth but in faction, & divers of them which have defiled their handes with odious murders. With these fancies & suche favorites is it to be hoped for that he will be contained in the limites of your condicions? Since in truth it wer straunge, he that cannot be content to be second person in France & heire apparant would come to be the second person where he should pretend no way soverainty. His power I imagine is not to be despised, sence he is to come into a countrey where the way of evill doing will be presented unto him, wher there nedeth nothing but a head to draw together evil affected limmes: himself a Prince of great revenues, of the most populous nation of the world, full of soldiors, & such as ar used to serve without pay, so they have shewe of spoile. And without question shall have his brother in such a case ready to helpe him aswell for old revenges as for to diverte him from troubling France, & to deliver his owne countrey the soner from evill humours. Neither is King Philippes mariage herein any example, since that it was betwen two of one religion, so that he in England stood only upon hir strenght & had abroade Henry of France ready to empeche any entreprise he would make for his greatnes that way. And yet what eventes time would have brought forth of that mariage, your most blessed reigne hath made vaine all suche consideracions. But thinges holding in the state present, I think I may justly conclude that your countrey being aswell by long peace & frutes of peace, as by the poison of division (wherof the faithfull shall by this meanes be wounded & the contrary enabled) made fitt to receive hurt. And Monsieur being every way apt to use the occasion to hurte, there can almost happen no worldly thing of more evident danger to your Estate Royall: for as for your person (indeede the seale of our happines) what good there may come by it, to ballance with the losse of so honnorable a constancie, truely yet I perceave not: I will not shewe so muche

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malice, as to object the universall doute of all that Races unhealthfulnes, neither will I laye to his charge his aguelike manner of proceeding somtimes hotte, somtimes colde in time of pursute, which allwayes likely is most fervent. And I will temper my speeches from any other irreverent disgracings of him in particular though they be never so true. This onely will I say : If he doe come he must live here in farr meaner reputacion then his minde will well brooke, having no other Royalty to countenance himself with or els you must deliver him the keyes of your kingdom & live at his discretion, or lastly he must separate himself to more dishonour & further discontentment of heart then ever before. Often have I heard you with protestacion say : No private pleasure nor self affection coulde leade you unto it. But if it be both unprofitable for your kingdom & unpleasant to you, certainly it were a deare purchase of repentance. Nothing can it adde unto you but the blisse of children, which I confesse were an unspeakable comfort, but yet no more apparteining to him then to any other to whome that height of all good happes were allotted to be your husband. And therfore I think I may assuredly affirme that what good soever can folowe mariage is no more his then any bodies : but the evilles & dangers are particularly annexed to his person & condicion. For as for the inriching of your countrey with treasure (which either he hath not or hath otherwise to bestowe it) or the staying your servantes mindes with new expectacions & liberalities (which is more dangerous then frutefull) or the easing your Majesty of your cares which is as much to say as easing you of being a Queene souveraine, I think every body perceaveth this way either full of hurt or voyde of helpe. Now resteth to consider what be the motions of this soudaine change as I have heard you in most swete wordes deliver. The feare of standing alone in respect of forraine dealinges, & in home respectes doubtles to be contemned. Truely as the standing alone with good foresight both of peace, governement & warrie defence, is the honnorablest thing that can be to well established Monarchies, those buildinges being most ever strongly durable which leaning upon no other remaine firme upon their owne foundation : So yet in the particularities of your estate presently I will not alltogether denye that a true Masinissa were fitt to countervayle the enterprises of mighty Carthage. But how this general truthe can be applied unto

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Monsieur, in truth I perceave not. The wisest which have geven best rules with whome strongest leagues be to be made, have ever said that it must be betwene suche as either vehement desire of a third thing, or as vehement feare doth knitt their mindes together. Desire is accompted the weaker bonde, but yet that bounde so manie great princes to the expedition of the holy land. That united the invincible Henry the Vth with Philipp the good Duke of Burgondy, the one desiring to wine the crowne of France from the Dauphin, the other desiring the revenge of his fathers murther upon the Dauphin, which bothe tended to one end. That coupled Lewes the XIIth & Ferdinand of Spaine to the conquest of Naples. Of feare there are innumerable examples: Monsieurs desires & yours how they should meet in publik matters, I thinck no Oracle can tell. For as the Geometricians saye that Paralleles because they maintaine divers lines can never joyne, so truely who have in the beginning contrarye principles to bring forthe one doctrine must be some miracle. He of the Romishe religion, & if he be a man, must nedes have that man-like propertye to desire that all men be of his mind: you the erector & deffendour of the contrary & the onely Sunne that dazeleth their eyes. He Frenche & desirous to make Fraunce great: your Majesty English & desiring nothing lesse then that France should be great. He both by his owne fancie & by his youthfull Governours imbracing all ambitious hopes, having Alexanders image in his head, but perchaunce, evill painted. Your Majesty with excellent vertu taught what you should hope & by no lesse wisdom what you may hope, with a Councell renowned all over Christendome, for their well tempred mindes, having sett the uttermost of their ambition in your favour & the study of their sowles in your safety. Feare hath a litle shewe of reasonable cause to matche you together, for in this state he is in, whome should he feare? his brother? Alas, his brother is afraid of him: neither yet can his brother be surer by his falle since the King of Navarre is to stepp in his place. But he may be the greater by his brothers falle, wherunto whither you wilbe accessory, you are to determine. The King of Spaine? Certainly the King of Spaine cannot make warre upon him, but it must be upon all the Crowne of France: which is no likelihood he will doe. Well may Monsieur as he hath done, seeke to enlarge the blood of France upon his State, which likewise whither it

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be safe for you to be a countenance unto, any eye may see. So that if neither feare nor desire be such in him as are to binde any publik safenes, it may be said that the onely fortresse of this your mariage, is of his private affection, a thing to evident to your person without tying it up in such slight knottes. The other objection of contempt in your subjectes, I assure your Majesty if I had not heard it procede out of the mouth that I doe of all others most deerly reverence, it would assone (considering the perfection of your body & minde sett to all mens eyes by the height of your Estate) have come to the possibility of my imaginacion, as if one should tell me on the contrary side, that the greatest Prince in the world should envye the estate of some poore deformed pilgrime: what is there either in you or without you that can possibly fall into the degree of contempt? to whome our fortunes are tyed by so long descent of Royall ancestours? Oure mindes joyed with the experience of your inward vertues, & our eyes delighted in the sight of you. But because your owne eyes cannot see your self, neither can there be in the world any example found fitt to blase you by: I beseeche you vouchsafe to way the grownd therof: The causes be, lenght of government & uncertainty of succession. Theeffectes you finde, be lookinge (as you terme it) to the rising Sunne, & some abominable speeches that certaine hellish minded people have uttered. The longer a good Prince raigneth, it is most certain the more he is esteemed; for there is no man ever weary of well being. And good increased to good maketh the same good both greater & stronger: for it useth the minde to know no other course when either men are borne in the time, & so never saw other, & have spent most part of their flourishing time & so have no Joye to seeke other. In evill Princes, abuse growing upon abuse, according to the nature of evill, with increase of time ruineth it self: But in so rare a governement where our neighbours fyre geveth us light to see our quietnes where nothing wanteth which true administracion of justice bringeth forth, certainly lenght of time rather bredeth a minde rather to thinke no other life but in that then any tediousnes in so frutefull swetnes. Examples of all good Princes doe ever confirme this, who the longer they reigned the deper they sancke still in their subjectes hartes. Neither will I trouble you with examples being so many & manifest: looke into your owne Estate how willingly they

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graunte & how dutiffully they paye such subsidies as you demande of them, how they are now lesse troublesome unto your Majesty in certeine requestes then they were in the beginning of your raigne, & you shall well [find] your Majesty hath a people more then ever devoted unto you. As for the uncertainty of succession, although for myne owne part I know where I have cast the uttermost anker of my hope, yet for England sake I could not say any thing against any such determination: But that incertaine good should bring contempt to certain good I think it is byond all reache of reason. Nay truely if there were no other lawes as there are infinit: Very common reason would teach us to hold that jewel deare the losse of which should bring us to we know not what, which likewise is to be said of your Majesties speeche of the rising Sunne: a speech first used by Sylla unto Pompey in Rome as then a popular estate, where indeede men were to rise or fall by the fickell breath of a many headed confusion. But in so lineal a monarchie where even the Infantes sucke the love of their rightfull Prince, who would leave the beames of so feare a Sunne for the dreadfull expectacion of a devided companie of starres. Vertu & justice are the onely bondes of the peoples love: and as for that point, many Princes have lost their Crownes, whose owne children were manifest successours: & some that had their owne children used as instrumentes of their ruine. Not that I denye the blisse of children, but onely meane to shew religion & equity to be of themselves sufficient stayes. Neither is the love that was borne you in the Queene your sisters time any fitt contradiction therunto: for she was the oppressour of that religion which lived in most mens hartes: you were knowen to be the favourer. By hir was the excellentest Princesse in the whole world to succede, by your losse all blindnes light upon him that seeth not our fatal misery. Lastly & most to this purpose she had made an odious marriage with a stranger which is now in question whether your Majesty should doe or no. So that if your subjectes doe at this present looke to any after chaunce, it is but as the Pilote doth to the shipp boate if his shipp should perishe, driven by extremity to the one, but as long as he can, as his life tendring th'other. And this I say not onely for the lovely partes which be in you, but even for their owne sakes, since they must nedes forsee what tempest threateneth them. The last prooffe of contempt should

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be the venimous matter which certain hartes impostumed with wickednes should utter against you: Certainly not to be evil spoken of, neither Christes holines nor Cæsars might could ever warrant any body, being for that no other rule but to doe so that they may not justly say evill, which whither your Majesty have not done I leave it in you to the sincerenes of your owne conscience & wisdom of your judgement, in the world to the most manifest frutes & fame thorough out Europe. Augustus was tolde: Men spake of him much hurte: It is no matter, quoth he, as long as they can not doe much hurte. And lately Charles the Vth to one that told him: *les Hollandois parlent mal; mais ils payent bien*, answered he. I might make a scholerlike reckning up of many such examples. It suffiseth that these great Princes knew well enough upon what winges they flewe & cared litle for the barking of a fewe cures. And truely in the behalfe of your subjectes I durst with my blood answer, that there was never Monarque helden in more precious reckning of their people. And before God how can it be other? For my part when I heere some loste wretche hath defiled such a name with his mouthe, I consider the right nature of blasphemy, whose unbridled sowle doth delighte to teare that which generally is accompted most high & holy. No no, most excellent lady, doe not raze out the impression you have made in suche a multitude of hartes, lett not the scume of suche vile mindes beare any wisse against your subjectes devotion which to procede one point further, yet if it were otherwise could little be helped, but rather nourished or in effect begunne by this. The only avoyding of contempt is love & feare. Love, as you have by divers meanes sent into the deapth of their soules: so if any thing can staine so true a forme it must be by bringing your self not in your owne likeness, but in new colours unto them. Feare by him cannot be encreased without apparence of frenche forces the manifest death of your estate. But well may it against him breede that feare, which as the Tragique Seneca saith: *Metus in auctorem redit*. Since then it is dangerous for your estate aswell because it (by inward weaknesse principally caused by division) is fitt to receive harme, as because he both in will & power is like enough to doe harme, since to your person it can no wayes be comfortable (you not desiring mariage) & neither to person nor estate he is to bring any more good then any body, but more evill he may,

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since the causes that should drive you to this are either feare of that which cannot happen, or by this meane cannot be prevented: I do with most humble hart say unto your Majesty, that (laying aside this dangerous helpe) for your standing alone you must take it as a singular honour God hath done you, to be indeed the onely protectour of his Church : & yet in worldly respect, your kingdome very sufficient so to doe : if you make that religion upon which you stand to carrye the onely strenght & have abroade those who still mainteine the same cause, who (as being as they may be kept from utter falling) your Majesty is sure enough from your mightiest ennemies. As for this man, as long as he is but Monsieur in might & a Papist in profession, he neither can nor will greatly steede you. And if he grow king, his defence will be like Ajax sheelde, which wayed down rather then defende those that bare it. Against contempt at home (if there be any which I will never beleve) lett your excellent vertues of piety Justice, & liberality daily, if it be possible more & more shine, lett some suche particular actions be found out, which is easy, as I think, to be done by which you may gratify all the hartes of your people. Lett those in whome you finde truste & to whome you have committed trust in your weighty affaires, be held up in the eyes of your subjectes : lastly doing as you doe, you shalbe as you be : The example of Princesses, the ornament of your age, the comfort of the afflicted, the delight of your people, the most excellent frute of all your progenitours, & the perfect mirroir to your posterity.

DEFENCE OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

OF late there hath been printed a book in form of Dialog to the defaming of the Earl of Lester full of the most vyle reproches which a witt used to wicked and filthy thoughtes can imagin. In such manner truly, that if the autor had as well fained new Names, as he doth new matters, a man might well have thought his only meaning had been, to have given a lyvely picture of the uttermost degree of railing. A thing contemptible in the doer, as proceeding from a base and wretched tong, and such a tong, as in the speaking dares not speak his own Name. Odious to all estates, since no Man beares a Name, of which Name, how unfitte so ever to the person, by an impudent Lyer, any thing mai not be spokne; by all good Laws sharpli punished, and by all civill companies, lyke a poisenous serpent avoided. But to the Earl himself, in the eis of any men who with cleer judgmentes can valew thinges, a trewe and sownd honour grows out of these dishonowrable falshods since he mai justly sai, as a worthy senatour of Rome once in lyke cace did, that no man these twenty yecres hath born a hatefull hart to this Estate but that at the same tyme he hath shew[c]d his enmity to this Earl testefying it herebi, that his faith is so lynked to her Majesties service, that who goes about to undermyne the one, resolvys withall to overthrow the other. For it is not now, first that evill contented and evill mynded persons, before the ocasion be rype for them to shew their hate against the prince, do first vomitt it out against his cownceilours, nai certainly, so stale a devyse it is, as it is to be mervailed, that so fyne witts, whose inventions a fugitive fortune hath sharpned, and the Air of Itali perchawnce purified, can light uppon no gallanter wai, then the ordinary pretext of the very clownish rebellions. And yet that this is their plott of late, by name, first to publish something against the Earl of Lester, and after when tyme served, against the queenes Majesti, by some of their own intercepted discources is made to

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manifest. He himself in some places, bringes in the examples of Gaveston Earl of Cornwal, Robert Vere Duke of Ireland, and Delapool Duke of Suffolk. It is not my purpose to defend them, but I would fain know whether they that persecuted those cown-ceilowrs, when they had had their will in ruining them, whether their rage ceased before they had as well destroyed the Kynges themselves, Edward and Richard the second, and Henry the sixt. The old Tale testefieth that the wolves that mean to destroy the flock have most the trestest and vailiantest dogges. Therefore the more the filthy Empostume of their wolvisch malice breakes forth, the more undoutedli doth it rais this well deserved glory to the Earl, that who hates England, and the Queen, must also withall hate the Earl of Lester.

And as for the libell it self, such is it, as neither in respect of the Wryter, nor matter writtne, can move I think the lightest Witts to give thereto credditt, to the discredditt of so worthy a person. For the Wryter (whom in truth I know not, and loth to fail am not willing to gess at) shew, yet well inough, of what kenell he is, that dares not testefy his own wrytinges, with his own name. And which is more base...(if any thing can be more base then a diffamatori libeller) he counterfaites him self in all the treatis a Protestant, when any man with haulf an ey, mai easili see he is of the other parti; which filthi dissimulation if few honest men of that Religion will use to the helping of themselves, of how many carrets of honesti is this man that useth it (as much as his poor powr can) to the harm of an other. And lastli evident inough it is, to any man that reedes it, what poison he meanes to her Majesti, in how goldne a cup so ever he dress it.

For the matter writtne, so full of horrible villeinies as no good hart will think possible to enter into any Creatur much less to be lykeli in so noble and well known a man as he is, oneli thus accused to be by the railing Oratory of a shameles libeller. Perchawnce he had redd the rule of that sicophant, that one showld bakbyte boldli, for tho the byte wear healed, yet the skar woold remain. But sure that schoolmaster of his, woold more conningli have carried it, leaving som shaddows of good, or at least leaving out som evill that his treatis might have carried som probable shew of it : For as reasonable commendation wins beleef, and excessiv getts oneli the praiser, the tytle of a flatterer ;

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so much more in this far wors degree of lying, it mai well rebound uppon him self, the vyle reproch of a railer, but never can sink into any good mynd. The suspicion of any such unspeakable mischeevs, especialli it beeing everi mans cace even from the meanest to the hyst, whereof we daili see odious examples, that even of the great princes, the deer riches of a good Name are sought in such sort to be pickt away by such night theeves. For thorow the hole book, what is it els, but such a bundle of railinges, as if it came from the mouth of som haulf drunk skold in a Tavern not regarding whyle evill weare spokne, what was fitt for the person of whome the railing was so the wordes wear fitt for the person of an outrageous railer. Dissimulation hipocris[i] Adultery falshod Trecheri poison rebellion Treason Cowardis Atheism and what not, and all still so uppon the superlative that it was no mervail though the good Lawier he speaks of made many a cros to keep him from such a father of lies and in many excellent giftes passing all shameles skoldes in one he passeth him self with an unheard of impudence bringing persons yet alyve to speak thinges which they are reddi to depose uppon their Salvation never came in their thoughtes. Such a Gentlewoman spake of a matter no les then treason belyke she whispred yet he heard her such two Knightes spake together of thinges not fitt to call wittnesses to yet this Asses eares wear so long that he heard them. And yet see his good nature all this whyle woold never reveal them till now for secretcy sake he puts them foorth in print. Certainly such a qualiti in a railer as I think never was heard of to name persons alyve as not oneli can but do disprove his falshods and yet with such familiarity to name them without he learnd it of Pace the Duke of Norfolkes Fool for he when he had used his tong as this heir of his hath don his pen of the noblest persons somtymes of the Duke him self, the next that came fitli in his wai he woold sai he had told it him, of abundance of charity not oneli to slawnder but to makebate. What therefore can be said to such a man or who lives there even Christ him self but that so stinking a breath mai blow infami uppon. Who hath a father by whose death the Son enherits, but such a nameles historien mai sai his son poisend him. Where mai two talk together but such a spirit of revelation mai surmize thei spake of treason. What neede more or why so much? as though I douted that any woold build beleef uppon

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such a durty seat, onely when he to borrow a little of his ink-orn, when he plais the Statist wringing veri unlukkili some of Machiavels axiomes to serve his purpos then indeed then he tryumphes. Why then the Earl of Lester meanes and plots to be king him self, but first to rebell from the prince to whome he is most bownd and of whome he oneli dependeth and then to make the Earl of Huntington king, and then to putt him down and then to make him self. Certainli Sir yow shoot fair, I think no man that hath witt and power to pronounce this word England but wil pitt[y] a sicophant so weak in his own faculty. But of the Earl of Huntington as I think all indifferent men will cleer him from any such foolish and wikked entent of rebellion so I protest before the Majesti of God who will confound all liers and before the world to whome effectes and inocentcy will witnes my trewth that I could never fynd in the Earl of Lester any one motion of inclination toward any such pretended conceat in the Earl of Huntington. I sai no wit futur. For as for the present or for drawing it to himself, I think no devil so wicked nor no idiot so simple as to conjecture and yet beeing to him as I am I think I shold have som air of that which this gentle libel maker doth so particularli and peec meal understand and I do know the Earls of Warwick of Pembrok my Father and all the rest he names there will answer the lyke and yet such matters cannot be undertakne without good frendes, nor good frendes be kept without knowing somthing. But the Earles mynd hath ever been to serv oneli and truli setting asyde all hopes all feares his Mistress by undouted right queen of England and most worthi to be the queen for her roiall excellencies and most worthi to be his qucen having restored his overthrown hows, and brought him to this cace that curs for oneli envy bark at. And this his mynd is not oneli (though cheefli) for faith knitt in conscience and honor, nor oneli (though greatli) for gratefulness where al men know how much he is bownd but even partli for wisdomes sake knowing by all old lessons and examples that how welcome so ever treasons bee Traitors to all wyse princes are odious and that as Mutius answered Tulli who wrote to him how he was blamed for shewing himself so constant a frend to Cæsar, that he douted not even thei that blamed him woold rather choos[e] such frendes as he was then such as thei wear. For wyse princes well know that these violent discon-

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tentements arise out of the parties wicked humors as in sikk folkes that think with change of places to eas their evill which indeed is inward and whome nor this prince nor that prince can satisfy but such as are ledd by their fancies that is to sai who learn to be princes—But this gentle libelmaker becaws he woold make an evident proof of an unquenchable malice desperat impudency and falshod which never knew blusshing is not content with a hole dictionari of slanders uppon these persons living but, as if he woold rake upp the bones of the dead with so apparent falshoods towc[h]eth their howses as if he had been afeard els he shoold not have been streight fownd in that wherein he so greatli labours to excell First for Hastings he saith the Lord Hastings conspyred the death of his Master King Edwardes sons. Lett any man but reed the excellent treatis of Sir Thomas Moor compare but his wordes with this Libelmakers and then judg him if he who in a thing so long since printed and as ani man may see by other of his allegations of him diligentli redd hath the face to wryte so directli contrary not caring as it seemes though a hundred thowsand fynd his falshod so som dosen that never redd Sir Thomas Moores wordes mai be carried to beleiv his horrible slawnders of a Nobleman so long ago dead. I sett down the wordes of both becaws by this oneli lyveli compariso[n] the face of his falshod mai be the better sett foorth—and who then can dout but he that lies in a thing which with one look is fownd a ly, what he will do where yet there is though as much falshod yet not so easi disproof.

Now to the Dudleis such is his bownti that when he hath powred out all his flood of scolding eloquence he saith thei are no gentlemen affirming that then Duke of Northumberland was not born so. In truth if I shoold have studdied with my self of all pointes of fals invectiōs which a poisenous tong coold have spitt out against that Duke yet woold it never have come into my hed of all other thinge[s] that any man woold have objected want of gentry unto him but this fellow doth lyke him who when he had shott of all his railing quiver cald one cuckold that was never married becaws he woold not be in debt to any one evill word—I am a Dudlei in blood that Dukes daughters son and do acknowledg though in all truth I mai justli affirm that I am by my fathers syde of ancient and allwaies well esteemed and welmatched gentry yet I do acknowledg I sai that my

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cheefest honor is to be a Dudlei and truli am glad to have caws to sett forth the nobility of that blood whereof I am descended which but uppon so just caws without vain glori could not have been uttred since no man but this fellow of invincible shamelesness woold ever have cald so palpable a matter in question. In one place of his booke he greatli extolleth the great nobiliti of the hows of Talbot and truli with good caws there beeing as I think not in Europe a subject hows which hath joined longer continuance of Nobiliti with men of greater service and Loialty. And yet this Dukes own grandmother whose blood he makes so base was a Talbot daughter and sole heir to the vicownt of Lile even he the same man who when he might have saved him self chose rather manifest death then to abandon his father that most noble Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury of whome the histories of that tyme make so honorable mention. The hows of Grai is well known; to no hows in England in great continuance of honowr, and for number of great howses sprong of it to be matched by none; but by the noble hows of Nevel his mother was a right Grai and a sole enheritrix of that Grai. Of the hows of Warwik which ever strave with the great hows of Arundel which shoold be the first Earl of England he was lykewise so descended as that justly the honour of the hows remained cheefli uppon him beeing the onely heir to the eldest daughter and one of the heirs to that famous Beauchamp Earl of Warwik that was Regent of Frawnce and although Richard Nevel who married the yongest sister becaws she was of the hole blood to him that was called Duke of Warwik by a point in our Law carried away the enheritance, and so also I know not by what right the tytle, yet in Law of herawdri and descentes which doth not consider those quiddities of our Law it is most certain that the honowr of the blood remained uppon him cheefli who came of the eldest daughter and more undoutedly is it to be said of the hows of Barklei which is affirmed to be descended lineally from a king of Denmark, but hath ever been one of the best howses in England, and this Duke was the oneli heir general to that hows which the hows of Barklei doth not deny how so ever as somtymes it fals out between Brothers there be question for Land between them. Many other howses might heerin be mentioned but I name these becaws England can boast of no nobler and becaws all these bloods so remained in him that he as heir might

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(if he had listed) have used their Armes and name as in old tyme thei used in England and do daili both in Spain France and Itali. So that I think it woold seeme as great news as if thei came from the Indies that he who by right of blood and so accepted was the awncientest Vicount of England heir in blood and Armes to the first or second Earl of England, in blood of enheritance a Grai a Talbot a Beauchamp a Barklei a Lislai shoold be doutd to be a gentleman. But he will sai these great honors came to him by his mother for these I do not deny they came so, and that the mother beeing an heir hath been in all ages and contreis sufficient to nobilitat is so manifest that even from the Roman tyme to modern tymes in such cace thei might if thei listed and so oftne did use the mothers name and that Augustus Cæsar had both name and Empyre of Cæsar onely by his mothers ryght and so both moderns. But I will claim no such priviledg lett the singular nobiliti of his mother nothing avail him if his fathers blood wear not in all respectes worthy to match with hers, if awncient undouted and untouched nobility bee worthi to match with the most noble hows that can bee. This hows therefore of Dudlei which in despyte of all shamelesnes he so doth deprave is at this dai a peer as we tearm it of the realm a Baron and as all English men know a Lord of the Parliament and so a Companion both in marriage parliamen[t] and tryall to the greatest Duke that England can bear, so hath it been ever esteemed and so in the constitutions of all owr laws and ordeineinces is it allwaies reputed. Dudlei hows is so to this dai and thus it hath been tyme out of mynd in Harry the fifts tyme the Lord Dudlei was his Lord Steward, and did that pittiful Office in bringing home as the cheef mourner his victorious masters dead boddi, as who goes but to Westminster in the Church mai see. I think if we consider together the tyme which was in England the most flowrishing and the king he served who of all English Kinges was most puissant, and the office he bare which was in effect as great as an English Subject coold have it woold seem very strange so that Lord Dudlei if he coold out of his grave heer this fellow make question whether his lawfull posterity from Father to Son shoold be gentlemen or no but though he oneli had been sufficient to erect nobility to his Successors bringing as the Romans tearmed it so noble an image into the hows yet did he but receive his nobility from his

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Awncestours who had been Lordes of that very Seignory of Dudlei castell many descentes before even from king Richarde the first tyme, at which tyme Sir Richard Sutton married the daughter and heir of the Lord Dudlei since which tyme all descended of him as dyvers branches there bee left the name of Sutton and have all been called Dudleis which is now above fowr hundred yeeres since and both those howses of Sutton and Dudlei having been before that tyme of great nobility and that Sutton was a man of great honor and estimation that very match witnesseth sufficiently it being a dainti thing in that tyme that one of Saxon blood as Suttons name testefieth he was shoold match with such an enheritryx as Dudlei was, the lyke example whereof I remember none but the great hows of Rabi who matched with Nevell, who of that match as the Suttons wear called Dudleis so did thei ever since take the name of Nevell so as of a hows which these 400 yeeres have been still owners of one seignouri the very place it self to any that sees it witnessing, such as for any that I know in England none but the noble hows of Stafford hath the lyke considering the name of the hows the length of tyme it hath been possest the goodliness of the seat with pleasures and roialties about it so as I think any that will not swear them selves brothers to a reprochfull tong will judg of his other slawnders by this most manifest since all the world mai see he speakes against his own knowledg for if either the hows of Dudlei had been great ancientli and now extinguished, or now great and had not continewed from old tyme or that thei had been unentytled gentlemen so as men must not needes have takne knowledg of them yet their might have been cast som vail over his untruth, but in a hows now noble long since noble, with a nobility never interrupted seated in a place which thei have each father and each son continualli owned, what shoold be said but that this fellow desyres to be known sutable having an untrew hart he will becom it with an untrew tong—But perchawnce he will seem to dout, for what will not he dout who will affirm that which beyond all dout is fals whether my great grandfather Edmond Dudley wear of the Lord Dudleis hows or no. Certainli he might in conscience and good manners if so he did dout have made som distinction between the two howses and not in all places have made so contemtable mention of that name of Dudlei which is born by

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an other peer of the realm. And even of charity sake he shoold have bestowed som father uppon Edmond Dudlei and not leav him not onely ungentled but fatherles. A railing wryter extant against Octavius Augustus saith his grandfather was a silversmith, an other Italien against Hu Capet though with most absurd falshod saith his father was a butcher. Of dyvers of the best howses of England there have been such foolish dreames that one was a ferrers son an other a shoomakers an other a milners an other a fidlers foolish lyes and by any that ever tasted any antiquities known to be so. Yet those howses had luk to meet with honester railers for they wear not left fatherles clean thei descended from som boddi but wee as if we wear of Deucalions brood wear made out of stones have left us no awncestowrs from whence we are come. But alas good railer yow saw the prooves wear cleer and therefore for honesty sake wear contented to omitt them for if either their had been difference of Name or difference of armes between them; or if though in Name and armes thei agreed yet if their had been many descentes faln since the seperating of those branches (as we see in many ancient howses it so falls out as thei are uncertain whether came out of other) then I sai yet a vaillant railer mai venture uppon a thing where becaws there is not an absolute certainti there mai bee som possibiliti to escape but in this cace where not oneli name and Armes with oneli that difference which acknowledgeth our hows to be of the yonger brother but such neerenes of blood as that Edmond Dudleis was no furdre of then son to the yonger brother of the same Lord Dudlei, and so as he was to be Lord Dudlei if the Lord Dudlei had died without heires and by the Jerman and Italien manner him self was to have been also called Lord Dudlei that his father beeing called John Dudlei married to the Daughter and heir of Bramshot in Sussex twas the oneli descent between him and the Lord Dudlei who was his grandfather his great grandfather beeing that noble Lord Dudlei whome before I mentioned and no man need dout that this wryter doth not oneli know the trewthe heerof but the proofes of this trewth. This John Edmondes father beeing buried at Arundel castell, who married Bramshot, and left that Land to Edmond and so to the Duke in Sussex which after the Duke sold by confiscation came to the Crown. This tomb any man at Arundel castell mai see. This Bramshot land I name a thing

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not in the air but which any man by the ordinari course of those thinges mai soone know whether such Land did not succeed unto Edmond from his father. So as where is this enheritance of Land and monumentes in Churches and the persons them selves little more then in mans memory truly this libeller deserves many thanks that with his impudent falshod hath givn ocasion to sett down so manifest a truth.

As to the Dudleis he dealls much harder withall but no whitt trewer. But therein I must confes I can not alleag his uncharitable tryumphing uppon the calamities faln to that hows though they might well be challenged of a wryter of whome any honesti wear to be expected but God forbid I shoold fynd fault with that since in all his booke there is scarce any one trewth els. But our hows receaved such an overthrow and hath none els in England done so I will not seek to wash awai that dishonor with other honorable tears I woold this yland wear not so full of such examples and I think indeed this wryter if he wear known might in conscience cleer his awncestowrs of any such disgraces, thei wear to low in the myre to be so thunderstrikne. But this I may justly and boldli affirm lett the last fault of the Duke be buried.

And in good faith now I have so far touched their, as any man that list to know a truth (if at least there bee any that can dout thereof) mai streight be satisfied I do not mean to give any mans eis or eares such a surfett as by answering to repeat his filthy falshods, so contrari to them selves as may well show how evill lies can be built with any uniformity. The same man in the beginning of the boke was potent to use his tearm in that the queen had caws to fear him the same man in the end thereof so abject as any man might tread on him the same man so unfrendly as no man coold love him the same man so supported by frendes that court and contrei wear full of them, the same man extreemeli weak of boddi yet infinitely luxurious, the same man a dastard to fear any thing the same man so ventrous as to undretake having no more tytle such a matter that Hercules him self woold be afreid to do if he wear heer among us, in som in one the same man all the faultes that in all the most contrary humord men in the world can remain that sure I think he hath redd the devills role of complayentes which he meanes to putt up against mankynd or els he coold never have been acquainted

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with so many wretched mischeefes. But hard it wear, if every goos quill, could any wai blott the honour of an Earl of Lester, writtne in the hartes of so many men, thorow Europe. Neither for me, shall ever so worthy a mans name, be brought to bee made a question; where there is oneli such a nameles, and shameles opposer. But becaws that thow, the wryter heerof, dost most falsli lai want of gentry to my dead awncestowrs, I have to the world thought good to sai a little, which I will assure any, that list to seek, shall fynd confirmed with much more. But to thee I sai, Thow therein liest in thy throte; which I will be reddi to justefy uppon thee, in any place of Europe, where thow wilt assign me a free place of comming; as within 3 monthes after the publishing heerof I mai undrestand thy mynd. And as till thow hast proved this, in all construction of vertew and honour, all the shame thow hast spokne, is thyne own, the right reward of an evill tonged shelm, as the Jerman especialli call such people. So again in any place, wherto thow wilt call me, provyded that the place be such, as a servant of the queenes majestie have free access unto; if I do not, having my lyfe, and liberty, prove this uppon thee, I am content that this ly I have givn thee, return to my perpetual infamy. And this which I wryte, I woold send to thyne own handes, if I knew thee; but I trust it can not bee intended, that he shoold be ignorant of this printed in London, which knows the very whispringes of the prive chamber. I will make dainti of no basenes in thee, that art indeed, the wryter of this book. And from the date of this wryting, emprinted and published I will three monthes expect thyne answer.

FINIS

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENCE.

I

To Sir William Cecil

MIRIFICA tua beneficia in me (nullo meo merito) cumulatissimè collata (egregie vir) faciunt ut (licet per tempus commodè et uti me decet non possim) hasce tamen ad te literas prescribam; quod non èo quidem facio, ut inde queas dijudicare quantos progressus in literis latinis habeam. Quà in re et verè et non sine gravi dolore meo fateor satisfacere me nullo modo posse, vel expectationi tuæ vel cupiditati meæ. Istas autem hoc consilio ad te nunc mitto, ne nomine negligentie ei suspectus sim, cujus in me tanta extant beneficia, ut si vitam pro ejus dignitate profundam, nullam partem videar tuorum meritorum assequutus. Hæc igitur me una causa impulit, hasce ut ad te nunc dem, et ut meis ineptiis te summis gravissimisque occupationibus distentum, et implicatum iam interpellem, ut qua possum ratione intelligas, beneficia in me tua quàm grata memoria colam: et ea ex animo meo excidere quàm nullo modo sinam. Té vero etiàm atque etiam rogo, ut quod ab optima voluntate, sit profectum, id in bonam partem accipias, nec tam audaciam et temeritatem meam reprehendas, quia tibi scribendo molestus sim, quam probes studium animumque in te meum, qui officii et observantiæ erga te meæ, quos possum libentissime velim, apud te testes deponere mihi quidem perfecto, in omni vitæ cursu, res tam erit nulla proposita, quàm ut quotidie vehementius, de me optume meritum esse lætere. Vale. Oxonii 12^o Martii A^o 1568[–9]

Tibi deditissimus

Philippus Sidneius

To the righte honorable Sir William Cecill Knighte her
Majesties principall Secretarie Yeve These

II

To Sir William Cecil

NON sum nescius (honoratissime vir) jure me posse in reprehensionem tuam incidere, quòd tanto temporis intervallo, nullas ad te dederim literas, quum et eas te sæpius expectare, et quan-

CORRESPONDENCE.

tum vis rudes boni consulere, remunerarique cumulatissime compertum habeam. Unde quidem non injusta ingritudinis suspicio oriri potest, qua nullum vitium fœdus, nullum facinus indignius, nullum denique scœlus gravius, semper existimavi: hæc namque in adolescente inhumana est, in ætatis integræ viro animadvertenda, in sene planè impia est. Quare cogitet quæso honor tuus, nihil quicquam a me abesse longius, nihil quod magis declinare cupiam. Excusationem afferre possem; et loci et temporis, et fortasse justam, cæterum ut negligentia alicujus culpam fatear, non statues spero in confitentem quicquam acerbius. Plura & longiora scriberem, tibi pro singulari tua erga me patremque humanitate, et mirifica bonitate, pluribus gratias agerem, si scirem vel te longiores literas desiderare, vel me pro exigua mea facultate id præstare posse. Sed quid plura chartis? habeo loquentes literas, quæ te de paternis meisque rebus, fusius possunt erudire. Vale meque dignitatis tuæ observantissimum ut cœpisti sic quæso perge amare. Oxonii viij^o Julii A^o 1569

Tibi Obsequentissimus
Philippus Sidneius

To the righte honorable Sir William Cecill Knighte her
Majestis principall Secretorie Yeve These

III

To Sir William Cecil

RIGHTE honorable: I am forced for better expedition to use an unaccustomed manner of writinge unto yowe the cause proceedinge frome a reporte of sum whome neither can I judge frendlie to my selfe nor yet indifferente towards him, from whome they seke by malise to præwente and detaine his woorthie praifermente sued for and obtained by his honorable benefactors, I meane, my singular good Lorde my Lorde of Lecestre and especiallie your selfe, by whose favor (attained by the requeste of my frendes, and his deserte towards me, assisted by the woorthines of his lyfe and learninge) M^r Thornewton my reder hathe unto him graunted the nexte præfermente of a cannonrie in this colleage of Christechurche. And sithence it hathe pleased


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God, (as I gave yow humblie to undrestande in my laste lettres) to call unto his mercie one Thomas Daie by meane whereof it restethe in your honorable favor to præsentē (accordinge to your former pretence) him, aswell for whose cause as divers others I do accounte my selfe no lesse bound then I oughte. For that it is verie constantlic reported that M^r Tobie Matthews frendes, shoulde use in his behaulfe some earneste sute, unwoorthie their callinges (because it was moved before the deathe of the incumbente, by the which it shoulde seeme they soughte rather by spite to præventē the one then honestlie to preferre the other) these are therefore moste humblie to requeste suche your wonted favor as neither your honorable benefitte may be revoked, my humble and earneste sute prævented neither the person him selfe so discredited, but that he maye withe your favor enjoye his advowson, by yowr meanes obtained, and your selfe promised. Thus humblie commendinge my dutie unto your good opinion, my selfe preste at your commaundementē I humblie ende. Frome Oxforde this xxvith of Februarie A^o 1569[-70]

Yours in as humble sorte as

your owne

Philip Sidney

To the righte honorable Sir William Cecill Knight  her
Majesties principall Secretarie &c Yeve these withe speede

IV

To the Earl of Leicester

RYGHT honorable and my singular good Lorde and Unkle, this bearer havinge showed me the woorkes he dothe cary into Englande gave me ocasion humble to sende these few woordes unto yowr Lordeshippe, thoughe my wrytynge at this presente unto yow by an Englishe gentleman that dothe now returne, take away any other cause of enlarginge the same. This bearer hathe promised me to lett no man see that whiche he cariethe untill he have showed them unto yowr Lordeshipp. If they may seeme unto yowr Lordeshippe unworthie of whiche I shoulde wryte unto yow, I do most humblie besече yow to condemne therein nothinge but my ignoraunce, whiche bendinge it selfe wholie to content yow, if it do erre, I hope yowr goodness will

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suffer the dutifull mynde, to recompence the wante of judgement, whiche beinge all that I have at this tyme to trooble yow witheall, I will most lowlie committ yow to the Eternalls protection.

Frome Franckforde this 18th of Marche A^o 1572[-3]

Yowr moste humble and moste
obediente nephew

Philip Sidney

To the ryghte honorable and my singular unkle, the Earle of Lecestre.

V

To William Blunt

Laus Deo.—In Frankefurt, the 20th of Marche, 1573.

ON the last day of May next coming, I praye you pay by this my first bill of exchange, my second not being payed before, unto Reynolds Drelinge or the bringer hereof, one hundreth and twenty pounds sterling money current for merchandise: and is for the valew here in Frankfort by me received of Christian Rolgin for myne own use. At the day faile not, but make good payment. And so God kepe you.

Your loving frende,
Philip Sidney

To his very frende Mr. William Blunt, Master of the Counter in Wood-streete.

VI

To the Earl of Leicester

THERE beinge nothinge of whiche I am so desyrouse (ryghte honorable and my singular good Lorde and Unckle) as to have continuall and certaine knowledge what your pleasure is, by whiche I may governe my little actions: I cannot be witheowt some grief, that never since I came into Jermanie I coolde by anie means understande it. Wherefore I have moste humbli to beseche your Lordeshippe that if in any of my proceedings I have erred, you will vouchesafe to impute that to the not knowinge

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youre Lordeshippes and their pleasure, by whose commaundement I am lykewyse to be directid. I was uppon Thursdaie laste withe Counte Lodovik the prince of Oronges seconde brother, whose honorable usage was suche towards me, and suche goodwill he seemes to beare unto your Lordeshippe, that for wante of furdre habilitie, I can but wishe him, a prosperouse success to suche noble enterprises, as I dowte not he will shortely (with the helpe of God) put in execution. I founde one Shambourge an Allmaine withe him, a gentleman whome I knew in the cowrte of Fraunce, allways very affectionnate to the kinges service, I dowte not but that he assaicthe to drawe the Cownte to serve the kinge, but I hope he laboureth in vaine. All mens eyes are so bente to the affaires of Fraunce and Flaundres, that there is no talke here of any other contrey. I have an humble requeste unto your Lordeshipp, whiche is that it will please you to thanke maister Culverwell the bearer hereof, for the courtesie he shewed unto me, in employnge his credit for me, beinge drivne into some necessitie. Thus cravinge pardon for the continewance of my wonted manner, in vainely troubling yowr Lordeshippe I will most lowlie leave yow in his garde who ever preserve yow. Frome Francfort, this 23th of Marche 1572[-3]

Yowr moste humble and most obedient nephew

Philipp Sidney

To the ryghte honorable and my singular good Lorde and unkle the Earle of Lecestre etc.

VII

To Hubert Languet

Non verò, inquam, parum tua refert, id te scire, bene enim novi quam res sit solliciti plena timoris amor, sed id dicam et verè dicam me nulli planè obviam fuisse, qui iter Viennam versus haberet, quod verò tacitè me cujusdam remissionis amoris quo te et divinam tuam virtutem prosequutus sum et semper prosequar, incusas, agnosco humanitatem tuam, sed id seriò et vehementer à te peto, ut quantumcunque inter nos sit locorum intervallum, semper tamen id persuasum habeas, me non adeò puerili stultitiâ, aut inconstantia muliebri, aut belluina ingratitude esse præditum, ut non talis viri amicitiam cupidè adipiscar,

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adeptam non conservem, conservatæ verò me minus gratum exhibeam, utinam ego vel latinè satis possem, vel tu anglicè, videres, quantas tragœdias de ista tua subdubitatione excitassem, ex quo Venetias veni, ego â te accepi binas literas, tibi verò jam tertio scribo, hunc verò ordinem rogo ut observemus, ut quâque septimanâ per literas mutuò colloquamur. Quod de periculo scribis, ego non secus ac omnia alia tua consilia semper observabo. Me verò tecum, ut in postremis ad te scripsi citò habebis. Jucundas Petri Bizarri Perusini literas perlegi et flores quosdam decerpsi, quos facili quoniam melius non potui, imitatus sum. Non adhuc nisi semel ad Dominum Vulcobium scripsi, cum stilum aliquantulum correxero, sæpius faciam, interim meo nomine eum salutes et Dominum Bouchetellum. Legatus Galliæ me valdè humaniter excepit, Perrottus in Galliam rediit, frater tamen literas legit, Lasicus in Poloniam, de Dano adhuc nihil intelligere potui, oro, ut de te mihi aliquando scribas, et quando Rex ille Polonus liberabit Galliam suâ præsentîâ, ut facilius me ad iter parem. Vale. Venetiis. 5 Decembris. 1573. Tuus ex animo.

Ph. Sidneus.

VIII

To Hubert Languet

HERI accepi literas tuas scriptas 4^o Decembris in quibus agnosco illam eximiam tuam erga me benevolentiam, cui tam faciliè una literulâ omnes suspensiones abstersi. De meis rebus sic habeto. Fieri non posse si inauguratio regis tam citò fiat, ut ego adsim, sin vero per mensem unum vel alterum prorogetur tempus, tum Deo opt: max: favente, sine dubio veniam. Miserè enim multis rebus ita implicitus sum, ut cogar inde abesse ubi tot et tantæ res et videndæ et discendæ sunt. Sed quomodo-cunque res sese iam habeat, in vere omnes illas regiones perlustrabo simul cum generoso Hannoniæ comite, qui etiam se relictis Italis in Poloniam Bohemiam et vestram Saxoniam iturum prædicat. Et te charissime Languete videbo, cujus ego uno colloquio, magis profecto delectarer, quam omnium horum magnificorum magnificis magnificentîis.

Interim hic per quindecim dies commorabor, residuum tempus Patavii teram. Sphæram iam disco et aliqua in musicis; stilum solummodo ad te scribendo exerceo, sed id sane mihi iam usu

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venit, ut malè scribendo discam malè scribere, quapropter oro te ut mihi aliquid de stilo corrigendo scribas, simul cum illis monitionibus quas scripsisti te distulisse donec ad vos veniam, novi enim et tibi nunquam defutura consilia, et mea errata satis amplum monendi locum relictura esse. Omnes equos vendidi, aliàs enim profecto illorum bonitas sumtibus non responderet. De tuo accepi viginti coronatos quos inter multa alia tibi debeo. Quod ad illud argentum attinet quod bis in ædibus Raicheli acceperunt, non eò scripsi ut tibi aliquid agendum esset, sed solummodo ut Conisbeum purgarem quem antea de eà re ad te immerito accusaveram, et nos omnes deridendos præberemus si de eà re cum hospite ageremus, qui enim adeo impudenter acceperunt impudentius denegabunt. Quando mihi scribes tempus esse oportunum, ego munus parabo Domino Abondio qui quid egerit libenter scire vellem. Oro te ut mihi mittas opuscula Gallica Plutarchi si Viennæ emenda sunt. Vellem enim libenter quinques pretium dare, per mercatorem aliquem opinor poteris mittere, et per proximas mihi scribas si habes L'Historia del mondo di Tarchagnota, Lettere de principi, Lettere de tredici illustri homini, imprese di Girolamo Ruscelli, il stato di Vinegia scritto da Contareni, et da Donato Giannotti, qui omnes profecto sunt elegantes libri, aut si aliquos alios velis ego facile ad te perferri curabo. Adhuc alia res est quam a te sæpe rogare volui, cum tamen semper me deterruerit pudor, sed ut ait Cicero literæ non erubescunt. Incrèdibili desiderio flagro tuæ illius narrationis Polonicæ electionis, quam mihi semel dignatus es monstrare. Hanc oro et obtestor ut aut mihi mittas, aut saltem per proximas spondeas fidem, te mihi illam cum in Germaniâ tecum ero daturum, cum aliis tuis propter usuram temporis. Hic multa dicuntur, sed inter alia hæc prædicantur præcipue, aut fore foedus inter Hispanum et Turcam aut iterum inter Venetos et Hispanum, aut inter Turcam reginam Angliæ, regem Poloniæ et vestrum electorem Saxonix. Nonne rides nos Saxones etiam jam Turkannifare? Hæc profectò ego audiui ab homine et prudente et fide digno. Deus te mihi diu conservet. Vale. Venetiis. 19 Decembris 1573. Totus tuus Ph. Sidnæus.

Conisbæus et Bruskettus te ut summum illorum patronum et amicum salutant. Witfelde non possum invenire. Lasicius est ut audiui in Poloniâ, Perrottus in Galliâ alii omnes præstantissimi viri et mei summi amici.

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IX

To Hubert Languet

CHARISSIME Languete, hæc pauca ad te hoc tempore scribo, solummodo ut vi[deas] me religiosè observare parvum istud pignus tantæ amicitiae, nihil aliud scribendum habeo nisi hoc quod tibi novi erit gratissimum me sanitate optima semper frui. Accepi literas tuas scriptas die Brumalis solstitii ubi præter alia mihi gratissima scribis de quodam juveni Dioberi Polono, quod certè magis auget do[lo]rem meum me hoc tempore non posse venire ut superiorib[us] tibi scripsi. Sed si per mensem tantum Rex ille morbo laboraret aut aliquid tale accideret Deus bone quàm lætus adv[o]larem. Ego jam ædes in Patavio accepi quò inter septimanam ibo. Comes Hannoniæ literas mihi ad te misit. Et alter nescio quis, quas jam simul cum meis Camillo tradam. [Dominus Vu]lcobius et Bouchetellus ad me scripserunt, quibus oro u[t me] commendes et simul excuses quod non rescribo, fui enim per totum diem oc[cu]patus, et jam valdè sero domum redii, cras vero mane oportet literas Camillo dare, adeò ut nec sciam quid ad te scripserim, tu tamen omnia boni consules et me semper ut facis amabis. Vale. Venetiis Die Nativitatis Salvatoris 1574 [i.e. 1573]. Tuus ex animo

Phi. Sidneus.

X

To Hubert Languet

JAM tandem Patavienses meas literas habebis, non quo majorem facundiam expectes, quàm in aliis meis reperire soleas, sed ut scias me huc salvum et ex animi sententiâ venisse, unde sine ullo temporis intervallo, visum est mihi pauca ad te scribere, ut et tibi et mihi ipse in hoc salutandi genere satisfacerem. Veni igitur jamque invisi illustrissimum comitem et baronem Slavatam, summa virtute adolescentes, quorum consuetudine dum summâ meâ cum voluptate fruor, semper ante oculos venit nimius tuus erga me amor, qui non solùm de me sed de meis rebus et commodis omnibus tantam et tam immeritam curam gessisti. Sed sanè tu is non es cui gratiæ de ejusmodi rebus agendæ sunt, majora enim animo concipis et ego equidem quod ad me attinet,

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cum multum tibi debeo tum multum tibi debere cupio. Sed hæc hactenus. Proximæ tuæ literæ scriptæ kalendis Januarij decimo tertio mihi redditæ sunt quæ nihil novi secum attulerunt; fuerunt enim refertæ indiciis dulcis tui quidem sed jam diu cogniti et perspecti amoris, quod genus epistolarum mihi omnium maxime gratum et jucundum est, dum enim lego videor mihi ipsum Hubertum præsentem et in manibus videre consilium tuum de stilo hoc modo exequar. Primum aliquam Ciceronis epistolam in Gallicum sermonem vertam, postea ex Gallico in Anglicum et sic iterum in Latinum continuo motu, sed non Abondii revertetur. Forsan etiam Italicum eâdem exercitatione confirmabo, habeo enim epistolas a Paulo Manutio doctiss^o viro in linguam vulgarem traductas, et a quodam alio in Gallicam. Volumina Ciceronis diligenter legam. De Græcis vero aliqua discam quæ jamdiu supremis tantum labris attigi. Summum bonum (post illam æternam fœlicitatem) in colendâ verâ amicitia constituam, in quâ re tu facile primas tenebis. Excitasti mihi plane risum de illo tuo summo bono, in mentem enim mihi venerunt genus et species conterranei nostri. De Plutarchi exemplaribus (quod mihi scripsisti) nollem te tam parvam ob rem pudorem tibi innatum et insitum exuere nec ego ipse adeo sum impudens ut dum meis commodis inserviam aliorum voluptates negligam, præsertim amicorum. De Abondio valdè sollicitus sum quid illi præcipue, (propter singularem suam humanitatem) mittam, sed brevi curabo, tu interim multam illi salutem meo nomine dicas. Omnino nullam excusationem admitto quin habeam illam tuam de Polonicis rebus epistolam, jam etiam et alteram tuam orationem de quâ in proximis mentionem fecisti, necessario enim mihi gratissimæ esse debent cum et a te et a tali viro scriptæ sint.

Equidem oportet te ad aliqua scribenda applicare animum, ut admirabilis illa tua virtus et posteris aliquo singulari monumento innotescat; sed de hac re amplius cum te coram conveniam. Nova hic sanè nulla sunt a te expecto. Vale, teque diu tibi tuisque et toti orbi christiano conserva. Patavii. 18 kalendas februarii 1574. Tuus ex animi voluntate

Philippus Sidneus.

Clarissimo et insigniss^o viro Huberto Langueto
semper observando
Viennæ

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XI

To Hubert Languet

MULTIS nominibus mihi gratissimæ fuerunt postremæ tuæ literæ, quæ nihil nisi suavem illum tuum amorem præ se tulerunt. Gaudeo te approbare meum consilium de subsistendis meis astronomicis studiis, de geometricis vero nescio quid mihi sentiendum sit, omnino flagro desiderio illius cognitionis, et eò magis quod valde eam accommodatam esse bellicis rebus semper intellexi, ego tamen parcè operam huic rei navabo, et solummodo quasi per transennam, (ut sic dicam) in artis principia inspiciam. De Græcis literis tantum haurire vellem quantum ad benè intelligendum Aristotelem sufficeret, etsi enim quotidie traductiones nonnullæ fiunt, tamen ego suspicor eas non satis dilucidè et aptè sensa authoris exprimere, ad hæc etiam valde pudet me rivulos tantum, ut ait Cicero sectari, fontes ipsos rerum non videre, inter Aristotelis opera ego præcipuè politica ejus legenda puto, quod eò scribo, quoniam me ad moralem philosophiam animum adjungere suades. De Germanica lingua, chare Huberte, planè despero, habet enim nescio quid, quod tu bene nosis duritiei, adeò ut in hac ætate, nunquam me sperem (ne ad intelligendum quidem) satis adeptum fore, ego tamen ut tibi paream eam aliquando cum Delio nostro, et præcipue dum propinem, exercebo. Facile me confiteor tristiores sæpè esse quam aut ætas aut occupationes meæ postulant, tamen id sanè experiundo probavi me nunquam minus melancholicis affectibus deditum esse, quam dum acriter imbecilles animi mei vires in aliquod arduum et difficile intendam. Sed hæc hactenus. Ego te effigiem meam adeò vehementer à me expetere et lætor quod ejusmodi indicia spirant dulcem tuum et jam diu perspectum erga me amorem, et doleo quod tam leves res à me cum dubitatione petis, si enim inter nos nulla esset vera et perfecta amicitia (quæ omnia communia officia, ut Sol minora lumina obfuscet) tamen ea à te accepi, ut multò majora quam hæc debiti loco exigere possis, cum primum Venetias redierim, curabo id fieri aut à Paulo Veronese, aut à Tintoretto qui facile primas in hac arte hodiè tenent, quod ad versus attinet, quamvis gloriosum sanè est laudari à tam laudato viro, et mihi jucundissimi sunt ut qui sempernum animi tui mihi testatum erunt, tamen nollem ego adeò graviter impudens esse,

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ut qui talia præconia laudum mearum præsertim sine meo merito inscribi curarem, idcirco hoc mihi ignosce, reliqua omnia à me impera et ego tibi si potero (voluntas sanè non deerit) satisfaciam. Hæc me[n]dis et litturis plena tu boni consules raptim enim scripsi. Vale. Patavii. 4^o Februarii. 1574. Tui amantissimus et observa[n]tissimus
Philippus Sidenæus.

Interea ego libenter effigiem illam quam Abondius fecit, tibi do, et illi munus aut mittam aut perferam. Iterum vale.

Clarissimo et præstantissimo viro Domino
Huberto Langueto Domino et amico
suo semper observando. Viennæ.

XII

To Hubert Languet

S. P. D.

NÆ tu egregiè tractas miserum nostrum Cambrobritannum, qui Apollinis et Vulcani iras de Brenni commisso scelere in se derivavit, sed equidem videtur aliquantulum, desiderari tua humanitas, qui neque igni satis expiatum scelus existimas, quin etiam id detrahis, quod ille sibi quasi proprium patrimonium arrogavit. In quo verò Saxones piratas et latrones affirmat fuisse, tu vide, ego conscientia Gallicæ originis fretus omnia faciliè concedam. Magna vero res est quam me tibi præcipere meus amor cogit, nempe ut cogites, ignotum Deum nostrum qui ejusdem patriæ et farinæ est, malè habiturum quod tantos risus de consanguineo suo secundum carnem excites, ne iratus forsitan monadem suum hieroglyphicum tanquam Jovis fulgur in te exerceat, tantæ enim sunt animis cœlestibus iræ.

Greffinius in memoriam Domini Lhuid multa dixit et quasi funebrem orationem habuit, dum ego ridens parentavi, inter alia, ut levaret notam stultitiæ quæ a te bono Lhuido inusta est, dicit quod ad Brennum attinet, omnino eum rectè sensisse, idque probat a nomine, in antiquâ enim eorum lingua britannicâ, Brennus significat regem, fuitque inter eos adeo celebris ut Pharaos aut Ptolomæus inter Ægyptios, in Parthico imperio Arsaces, et Hubertus apud vœnatores, et hac ratione forsitan debili concludit illum insignem latronem suum popularem fuisse, quod ut con-

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cedas sine ut exorem. Sed hæc jocans scripsi, hoc extra jocum me ardere desiderio tui videndi, et si deus opt: max: meis optatis respondebit brevi vobiscum esse futurum, et fortassis antequam illud institutum iter Pragam versus aggrediamini. Tu interim si tibi videbitur, mihi de omnibus tuis rebus scribes: et si aliquid novi habeas, velim ut mihi mandes, ex tuis enim literis quasi imaginem nostrum temporum videor mihi videre, quæ jam sanè ut arcum nimis diu intensum, aut relaxari aut frangi oportet, quare hanc operam mihi dices charissime Huberte, ut quæ sentis quæque literis tuto mandari posse existimas, ad me scribere digneris: tuæ enim epistolæ mihi multas ob causas sunt jucundissimæ, quæ tamen unâ hac in re facile omnes comprehendi possunt quod sunt tuæ.

Ex Angliâ nihil habuimus novi, nisi quod tuus Walsinghamus adjunctus est Smitho, ad exequendum secretarii munus, estque in intimum consilium (ut sic nostro more dicam) admissus, cum satis magnâ testificatione, quàm benè de illo, nostra Regina sentiat.

Simul cum his accipies a comite Hannaviæ et omnibus illius domesticis, quibus fac ut respondeas mirificè enim te amant.

Oro te ut multam salutem meo nomine quam humillime dicas domino Vulcobio cui ego sanè sæpius scriberem, nisi quod conscius mihi sum, me nullam scribendi materiam habere, homines autem occupatos inaniter perturbare licebit Perusinis, noli omittere idem officium honestissimo juveni Bouchetello.

Plura scriberem si plura mihi in mentem venirent quocirca finem imponam, et te monebo ut me semper ut facis ames. Vale. Patavii undecima Februarii 1574. Tui amantissimus

Philippus Sidnæus.

Bruschettus se tibi officiosissimè commendat.

Clariss^{mo} viro Domino Huberto Langueto
et amico suo semper observando Viennæ.

XIII

To Hubert Languet

S. P. D.

IN tempore venisti, ait ille Terentianus, ut opinor, Davus. Cum jam paratus eram satis pro imperio tecum expostulare, quod hæc dies veneris contra morem sine tuis literis multum sanè

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processerat, ecce veniunt, quæ facilè me ab acri meo incepto deterrent, imo loco vehementis accusatoris solliciti rei partes agere cogunt. Multis de rebus me accusas, sed de hac una præcipuè, quod in proximis meis de reditu nostro ad vos nullam mentionem feci, quasi v[er]o cum id jam diu multis verbis confirmaram replicatione hoc tempore opus esset, quod si discederem a sententia, tum verò desideraretur officium, si de ea re certum te non facerem, dum verò idem constanter sentiam, quamobrem debeo sæpius unam eandemque parvam rem auribus tuis inculcare, sed hoc facit amor tuus; ut nunquam defatigeris audiendo ea, quæ ad me vel paululum admodum pertinent. Quocirca non debes suspicari (si me gratum, id est, non impium esse velis) fieri posse, ut aut ulla oblivio deleat memoriam tui amoris, aut præ novis quibusdam familiaritatibus parvum locum ei relinquendum vivam erit sanctius. Rumor ille de Pace inita inter Turcam et Mahometi sobolem factus jam est raucus, aliquid tamen pro certo inest mali; Venetiani valdè duriter tractantur, illud constat eos, vel iniquissimis conditionibus pacem amplexuros. De navali pugna et prospera Geusorum victoria procul dubio audivistis. In Gallia fertur per totam Languedock, Daulphinè et Provence Huguenottos impunè peragrarè. Momersium Regem veneno tollere conatum esse, ταῦτα ἔστιν ἐπιχειρεῖα τυραννικῆς φιλίας hæc si vera sunt, ad me fac scribas, charissime Huberte, quæ scripsisti de inauguratione Polonica et privata tua et publica expiscabor. Hodic effigiem meam inchoavit Paulus quidam Veronensis, propter quam oportet ut duos aut tres dies adhuc hic commorer. Vale et me ama. Venetiis. 26 februarii, 1574. Hæc scripsi planè dormituriens. Tuus ex animo

Philippus Sidnæus.

Clarissimo viro Domino Huberto Langueto,
D^{no} et amico suo semper observando, Viennæ.

XIV

To Hubert Languet

S. P. D.

ADÈD me perturbasti hoc tuo postremo nuncio, ut sanè mentem ad scribendum applicare non possim. Heu mi Languete tune miser esse potes, quem omnes qui aliquam scintillam in se virtutis habent, et amant et admirantur! Si aliquid in privatis

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tuis rebus esset, quod animum hoc dolore afficeret, rogarem te et obtestarer per amorem quo te prosequor, perque illud foedus amicitiae, quod inter nos mutuò sancitum dum vivam conservabo, ut in mea pietate erga te (quæ quamvis viribus exigua tamen ipsa propensione aliquos fructus pareret) sineres ætatem tuam, jam ut dicis ingravescentem conquiescere, tibi que persuaderes, nihil esse in meis, quod non prius eodem nomine sit tuum. Sed cum nota mihi sit tamdiu magnitudo animi tui, et ex literis hisce tuis intelligam, te de compuni causa dulcique patria laborare, nullum ferè argumentum mihi scribendi relinquitur, consolerne te per literas, adducamque longè petita exempla aliorum regnorum, quæ multò magis desperata tamen postea non tantum respirarunt, sed et frænum orbi terrarum injecerunt? neque ætas mea neque ingenium hoc ferunt. Taceamne, aut potius istam partem epistolæ tuæ prætermittam? hoc verò esset amicum negligere omneque jus amicitiae violare. Quare cum pudor et tacere et loqui jubeat, consultum mihi videtur. Pauca adeò dicere, ut et amantis et pudentis ut sic dicam officium quoad possim præstem. Primum ergò charissime Huberte, monendus es, ut sæpius tecum ipse colloquare, sæpius temet de hisce rebus audias. Etenim [ea] est vis divini ingenii tui, ut nemo mortalium tibi magis salutare consilium præbere possit, quam ipse tu. Deinde quod maximum est, oro te ut ea vulnera quæ nostris temporibus ecclesiæ Dei infliguntur, singula separatim consideres, ne dum simul dolores accumules, nimium fortunæ succumbere videaris, quod sic velim intelligas, ut Galliæ miserias per se perpendas, neque in una quasi idea jungas vestra mala cum morbis Flandriæ, et sic ut mihi videtur facilius in tot periculis quæ spes adhuc alii possint perspicies. Ego equidem incœpi (sed forsàn quod verisimile est utor ætatis vitio) erigere nonnihil animum, ex quo Regem Poloniæ sua præsentia levasse Galliam et res hugenotorum in Aquitania nostris optatis aliquantulum respondere intellexi. Sed tu longè in futurum prospiciens hæc non tantum vides, sed consequentias harum rerum cernis, quare velim quæ dixi non ut consilium, sed ut testificationem summi mei erga te amoris accipias. Quod verò ad Belgium attinet, ego planè non video, quomodo melius fieri potuisset, si enim flagrat incendio illa perpulchra regio, oportet meminisse Hispanos sine tanta combustionem expelli non posse, potiusque ut mihi profecto videtur optandum est Saguntum ardere quam perfidum Hannibalem tanta bona quiete possidere. Pos-

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trema pars querelæ tuæ posita est in periculo quod à Turca Italiæ imminere videtur, qua re quid accidere potest optabilius? Primum enim tolletur illud putridum membrum quod tam diu corruptit totum corpus reipublicæ Christianæ, et delebitur officina in qua ut scribis tot malorum causæ cuduntur. Ad hæc cogentur principes Christiani quasi ex alto somno expergefieri, et tui Galli jam inter se digladiantes conjungere vires, ut communi hosti resistent, non secus ac rixantes canes, cum forte vident lupum ovile deprædantem. Sed majora sequuntur. Ego planè pro certo habeo, hanc perditam Italiam vel ipsos Turcas adeò inquinatam, ut sceleratis istorum illecebris irretiti facilius postea sua ipsorum mole à tanto fastigio conciderint, et hoc nisi me mea fallit opinio in nostro tempore videbimus. Illud verò satis mirari non possum, quî tibi in mentem veniat, te nullo modo posse prodesse aut reipublicæ aut amicis, et idcirco mortem tibi non esse fugiendam, ego nolo ulterius progredi, neque apertius hac in re meum judicium explicare, hoc tantum profiteor et prædicabo dum hac luce fruar, me plus emolumenti ex tui unius cognitione percepisse, quam ea dempta ex toto hoc tempore, quo peregrè abfui à patria. Sed hæc hactenus, at tu, interea, mi Huberte, noli arbitrari, me aut arrogantia, quam longe à me abesse spero, aut garrulitate, quam tamen in Ciri juventute Xenophon non esse vitium censuit, sed inductione aut potius impetu quodam animi permotum, statuisse hæc pauca ad te scribere, ut quantum in me esset, levarem te istis molestiis, quibus sensi te aliquantum perturbatum esse, quæ tamen omnia facilè agnosco nihil aliud esse quam secundum proverbium: Sus Minervam. Sed tandem jocemur. In eisdem literis sedulo te purgas morbo quodam Italico multum scribendi, quod tamen non opus fuit ut faceres. Tum te purges licet, cum non scribas. Ego enim satis probè novi vos Burgundos non adeò subtili ingenio esse præditos, ut valdè scriptionibus delectemini, hoc suo jure poteris concedere Perusinis, a quibus ut mihi in alteris (simul cum hisce conjunctis) scripsisti, quædam nova de augendo numero Custodum in nostra Aula emanarunt, quæ quidem, ut mihi videntur, olent lucernam (honoris causa nomino) Petri Bizarri. Nam ut Tigranes de acie Luculli, ad hunc usum ad quem destinantur satis superque sunt, sin verò aliquid novi periculi immineat ad alia recurrendum est. Hoc certum est Reginam majores quam unquam alias apparatus cum maritimos tum terrestres facere et nuper mandasse omnibus, ut vocant Ar-

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tegianis alienigenis qui ferè sunt omnes Belgæ, ut à Londino migrent, quod eo consilio fecit, ut sic coacti redeant in Belgium ad defendendos proprios lares, quod sine dubio multum conducet Aurentio, sunt enim plus minus ad viginti millia hominum. Præter hæc nihil novi dicitur, nisi de classe Cantabrica et lautis conviviiis Papæ, est enim planè ut dicunt Bonus Socius. Simul cum his mitto ad te literas Comitissæ Hannaviæ et illius domesticorum, quas proxima septimana ad me dederat sed tardius quam debebat. Cui noli respondere donec à me certior fias, ille enim jam discessit ad perlustrandas interiores Italiæ partes, qua in re videre licet tuam injustitiam, sed tacere oportet, illi enim promisso obstrictus sum, tu tamen memento loci dialectici, à Majore. Ante paucos dies ad te venient duo nobiles Angli, quibus quoniam commendaticias literas ad te dare debeo, visum est mihi paucis illorum adventum quasi percurrere, ut paratior sis ad illos tua solita humanitate excipiendos. Ille quem ego præcipuè tibi commendo appellatur D. Robertus Corbett, meus si quis alius, summus amicus, magno loco ortus, sed qui ut ait Buchananus longè anteit morum nobilitate genus, veræ religionis cultor, et in re militari satis peritus, Italicè tantum loquitur. Alter dicitur D. Richardus Schelley, meus consanguineus sic et Robertus, sed hic tantum propior sang[u]ine quantum alter amicitia, hic benè edoctus est, ut qui Græca, Latina et Italica probè callet, Gallicis quoque aliquantulum imbutus est, sed qui Papisticæ superstitioni est deditissimus. Cum primum ad te venient, si tibi ita videbitur, illorum nomina ab ipsis disces. Vale et me ut soles, ama. Venetiis. Patavium verò die lunæ revertar. 15^o. Aprilis. 1574. Tibi ex animo deditissimus.

Philippus Sidnæius.

Clarissimo viro Domino Huberto Langueto
amico suo omni observantia colendo.

XV

To Hubert Languet

NUNQUAM adduci poteram, ut crederem Machiavellum, bene de nimia clementia fugienda sensisse, donec usu idem mihi venerit, quod ille multis rationibus probare conatus est. Ego enim (quæ mea est nimia lenitas) non tantum injurias sed tela et vulnera a te moderate tuli, dum speravi tantâ mansuetudine nullam

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fuisse tam pertinacem duritiem, quin flecti posset. Sed mea me spes fefellit, videoque non solum non minui, sed augeri morbum hac medecinâ, qua idcirco non amplius utar, neque inanem ut verè dicam speciem clementiæ, salutaris severitati præferam. Quid? Tunc is es qui tibi persuadere potes, ut impunè non modo Cambros irrideas, Saxonum artes suis coloribus depingas, Florentinos et Ligures loco furum et latronum habeas, quin eo progrediaris ut Anglis quoque mala miniteris? Nolo ego in Burgundos iram meam quamvis justam convertere, honoris scilicet causâ Huberti Divi Tutelarioris et pia memoria prudentis illius vestri Caroli, quem Helveti adeo honorificè tractarunt, sed hoc a te libenter scire velim, quid tantum aut tale Anglia merita sit, ut adeo misere eam exagitaris? Neque hac re contentus me quoque privata causâ (si publica forsitan non satis commovear) ad pugnandum provocas, novas quasdam suspiciones in medium adducens, quarum tamen omnium hæc una est gravissima, ne oblivione tui munus hoc scribendi negligam. Næ tu perbellus es homo qui (ut in Phormione Geta) cujus fidem in pecuniâ perspexeris vereris verba ei credere. Sed præsens hæc tecum alioque modo agam, hoc tempore nolo omnem meam solitam clementiam exuere, ut videam si per proximas tuas literas te tam gravis peccati poenituerit.

Monsieur D'Ax reversus est Venetias, in cujus familiaritatem intrare conabor, est enim (ut prædicatur saltem) omnibus virtutibus ornatus. Is (ut audio) magnos apparatus Turcam hoc anno facere affirmat, adeo ut sperem Hispanos magis de propriis laribus defendendis quam aliorum oppugnandis fore sollicitos. Quam ob rem de Johannis Austriaci discessu Hispaniam versus multi dubitare incipiunt. Cosmus Florentinus dux nuper fato functus est, quem valde populus ille luget, sed eodem animi affectu quo Siracusana mulier, omnia fausta Dionisio Tiranno precata est. Successor jam diligenter agit cum Turca, ut concedatur suis Hetruscis liber aditus ad mercaturam exercendam in Græcia. Quid impetrabit nescio.

Quoniam jam tempus adventat mei promissi de reditu observandi, ne forsitan posthac ut antea fecisti me inconstantiae insimules, plane tibi do [liberam] optionem et potestatem eligendi, si velis me aut expectare Hannavi[æ] Comitissæ redditum, aut subito iter versus te mi charissime Huber[te] aggredi. Quod reliquum est Dominus Ferrerius et Schendelinus mihi summam humani-

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tatem tribuere non desinunt. Vale et si me a[mas] vide ut tranquillitati animi tui diligenter servias. Patavii 29^o A[prilis] 1574.
Tui amantissimus et observantissimus

Philippus Sid[næus].

Oro ut meis verbis multam salutem dicas domino Vulcobio et Bouchete[llo]; idem tibi facit Bruschettus. Hæc planè dormituriens scripsi. Simul cum alt[eris literis] quas Lubecio jam mitto.

Clarissimo viro Domino Huberto [Langueto]
amico suo omni obser[vantia] colendo. Vienæ.

XVI

To Hubert Languet

S. P. D.

ETSI non dubito quin multis nunciis, fama denique ipsa longe certiora habueris, quam meæ literæ hoc tempore et loco scriptæ tibi adferre poterunt, tamen ego meum officium esse duxi, aliquantulum per literas de tanta re tecum colloqui. Nam cum eum quidem dulcissimum esse amicitiae fructum semper existimavi, per quem liberè sive de publicis seu privatis rebus, cum amico id est se ipso communicare licet, tum ipsa res quasi exigere hoc ab omnibus vera religione imbutis videtur, ut relictis aliis cogitationibus, in hanc unam tota mente incumbamus. Sed quorsum hoc tam longe repetitum principium? quia volo equidem ut cogites, me valdè et ex animo perturbatum esse. Habui enim neque id ab obscuris hominibus, sed ab ipso concilio decem virorum comitem Ludovicum lethali vulnere accepto, fratre capto fugatum esse cum magnâ clade suorum, inter quos facilè principes sunt, Christophorus Palatini, et nonnulli comites ut vocant Rhenani: Indeque tantum animorum motum factum esse in Belgio, ut res nisi cito ab aliquo christiano principe restaurentur, ad deditionem usque spectent. Spero equidem et spero quoniam ita fieri cupio hos rumores falso disseminari, ut gratificentur Hispanis qui nihil magis aucupantur, quam opinionem hominum, eorum scilicet Fortunam in bono loco positam esse. Sed quomodocunque sit mi Char^{me} Languete, hoc certum est nostros principes nimis altum somnum dormire, qui dum hoc tam quiete agunt, videant velim, ne in eum morbum incidant qui mortis

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imaginem cum ipsa morte conjungit. Nuper vidi quoddam scriptum, satis sanè elegans (quod si potero nancisci ad te mittam) in quo author valde animat Principes quos vocat catholicos ad consilium Tridentinum exequendum, hujusque rei, præcipuè occasionem sumit a turpi ignavia principum Jermanorum, quorum dum alii potationes alii ridiculas venationes exercent, alii insanis sumtibus flumina a cursu avertere volunt, omnes excepto Palatino nec publica curare et privata exhaurire in animum induxerunt, facile eos opprimi posse confidit. Deus bone quàm vellem tecum vel unam horam me jam posse ponere, multa enim habeo quæ prorsus literis commitenda non sunt. Brevis sanè fiet. Comes enim ut spero cito redibit, nullam vero moram hic faciet, quin ilico, iter versus vos aggrediatur, quod sane ardens meum desiderium nonnihil lenit. Scripsi hodie ad Comitem Leycestrensem avunculum meum, illique enumeravi, quot et quanta isti Hispani sibi de hac victoria promittant. Forsan aliquid boni inde orietur, sin secus, ego saltem quod ad me attinet, malo minus sapientis quàm minus patriæ amantis culpam subire. Cræde mihi affirmanti mi Huberte me nunquam vidisse impotentem fœminam de aliquo insperato nuncio magis exultantem, quam nonnulli istorum de hac re faciunt, qui tamen insignem moderationem animi præ se ferre volunt. Faxit Deus ut sit illis risus Sardonius. Sed hæc hactenus. De stratagemate illo Gallico curavi et ante Diem Jovis duo mihi exemplaria exscripta erunt, non enim imprimuntur, proptereâ quod magnâ intercessionem legati Gallici permotus papa prohibuerit. Dum enim ille quasdam Italiccas virtutes, in rege ad cælum extollit, ignarus Gallus, dedecore potius quam laude affici suum regem existimavit. Quamprimum habuerim mittam ad vos, simul cum literis ad Dominum Vulcobium, cui hoc tempore non scribo, et quòd ego sum multum occupatus, et quòd illi occupato ut est semper, nolim inaniter molestus esse. Tu meis verbis multam illi salutem dices, magnasque gratias de humana ad me epistola ages. Quod reliquum est quæ nova habebis, mihi si ita tibi videbitur impertieris. Vale meque ut facis ama. Meus Ludovicus se quam officiosissime tibi commendat. Patavii. 7^o Maii 1574. Tui amantissimus

Philippus Sidnæus.

Clarissimo viro. Domino [Hu]berto Langueto,
[amic]o suo charissimo Viennæ.

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XVII

To Hubert Languet

S. P. D.

SATIS sanè moderatè te gessisti, cum tam asperè à me provocatus fueris, in quo mansuetudinem tuam quidem laudo, conscius nimirum tibi, quantum peccatum admiseras, satius esse ingenuè confiteri delictum, quam in errore perseverando, Divi Georgii iram concitare, tentasti. Approbo sententiam. Sed mi Lang[u]ete quid agimus? Jocamur his temporibus? Neminem quidem judico communi ingenio præditum, qui, quo vadant hæ turbulentæ tempestates, quæ per tot annos totam rempublicam christianam conquassârunt, non videt, qui verò consequentias harum rerum cernit, et æquo animo ferre potest, cum aut in Deorum collegium cooptandum, aut inter belluas humano vultu indutas enumerandum censeo, ὡς εἰ Θερίον εἰ Θεόν. Sed hoc est verum condimentum, aut potius sunt veri amicitiae fructus, ut dulcis amici recordatio non modo omnium dolorum magnum sit levamen, sed in rebus maxime seriis ad nescio quam animi remissionem descendere cogat. Hæc v. animorum delectatio vel potissimum honestis facetiis constat, quæ non[n]ullorum naturis et sapientum quidem virorum adeo innatæ et quasi insitæ sunt, ut neque Socrates ille neque noster Morus in supplicio jocos relinquere potuerint. Jocemur igitur. Affrica terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu. Qui Galetum et Turetum tenent ut opinor Hispani sunt. Illos verò aiunt in tantis caloribus valdè frigere. Tauriam tamen pro penuria remigum nihil magni hoc anno aggredi posse, quod idem de nostra Regina latè disseminant. Narravi, omnes scilicet Anglos in navibus Aurantii jam pridem inclusos esse. Multa illi quidem dicunt, Joannes Austriacus, ut aliquibus placet in Flandriam, cum magna vi Italarum proficiscetur, ut aliis in Hispaniam revocabitur, ut nonnullis in Italia commorabitur, ego planè opinor Philippum Joanne uti quasi Delphico gladio, ut et contra Turcam Gallumve si aliquid moliantur talem ducem habere videatur, et Italarum motus, quos timere incipiunt præsentia ejus compescat, et Flandros expectatione illius adventus in officio teneat, velim dum ita πολυπράγμων sit nihil tandem agat. Ragusei 40. naves ad classem illam Cantabricam instruendam Philippo præstarunt. Foxius Legatus Gallicus Romæ

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cum summo honore tenetur, phrasis non minus usitata, sed quæ illi propria et peculiaris, planè n. ita tenetur (quod à viro honesto et fide digno intellexi) ut cum velit, non possit aufugere. Sed hæc hactenus. Comitem Hannaviæ puto jam Patavii esse, nudius tertius enim Ferrariæ fuit, ego hodiè expecto literas à patre, si aliquid novi ferant ad te scribam, sed ut spero festinatione adventus mei superabo literas, quoniam verò adhuc non sum collocutus cum Comite, neque aliquid certi deci[d]ere potui, rescribas velim, quæ si post decessum meum huc veniant, ego diligenter providebo, ut Viennæ remittantur, eoque magis volumen augebitur. Corbettus iter suum Viennam versus heri auspicatus est, quamvis credo, eum coactum iri servum post se relinquere, nimis n. ægrotat ad tantum laborem suscipiendum. Multam salutem dicito D. Vulcobio et meo Buchetello. De illo legato Gallico, de quo prioribus litteris ad te scripseram erratum erat, non enim benè intellexeram Ferrerium. Vale. Venetis 28. Maii. 1574.
Tuus
Philippus Sidnæus.

Bruchettus meus multam salutem quam humilimè tibi dicit, ex quo hæc scripsi audiui Comitem salvum rediisse Patavium.
Clarissimo Viro, Dn. Langueto
Dn. suo charissimo, Vienæ.

XVIII

To Hubert Languet

HÆC jam vicesima nona epistola est, quam ex quo in Italiam veni à te accepi, dulcissime Languete, tamen id profectò mihi usu venit, posteriorem longè mihi priore gratiorem et jucundiorum semper fuisse. Unde id perspicio quod nunquam credideram fieri posse, amoris erga te meo, cui ego nihil addi potuisse pro certo habueram, magnam tamen in hoc intervallo locorum atque temporum accessionem factam esse. Tu enim idem es, et eosdem fructus parit vis illa ingenii tui. Hoc tamen, si te amo, mihi accidit, ut cum priores tantam delectationem mihi attulissent, quantam non opinor, cepisse festivum nostrum Petrum, de Historia tua Pannonica, nihilominus hoc in genere adeò excelluerunt novissimæ, ut illas quidem gustasse, has vero Saxonico haustu exorbuisse videar. Quare oro, ut per aliquot adhuc dies, meæ diligentiae respondere velis. Comes n. illustrissimus statu

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antequam tres sequentes hebdomadæ præterierint non discedere, et quidem si jactura ferenda est, malim post discessum meum, aliquam tuam epistolam huc deferri, quam si id eveniret, ut hic vel per paucos dies, sine fructu te in tuis literis videndi commorarer; præsertim, cum id curarim, ut sine periculo tuæ literæ Viennam remittantur. Id quidem doleo, Comitem quasi conservâsse iter suum, ad omnes calores subeundos, qui hactenus sanè moderati fuerunt, tum sine dubio non erunt. Sed hoc ille viderit. Ego n. cum illo me comitem in itinere adjungere decrevi non dubito, quin tolerare omnia æquè ac ille possim. Literas ejus ad te mitto, simul cum Welspergi et Grusij, qui omnes me et te mirabiliter amant. Est in hac urbe nobilissimus quidam Germanus Baro et Burgravius à Donaw in Borussia. Is famâ tui nominis permotus valdè te amat, et cupit, ut in tuam familiaritatem intret, et hac de re obnixè me rogavit, ut tibi eum commendem, quod quamvis benè novi tibi æquè ac illi gratum fore, longè n., ut breviter dicam, omnes Germanos, qui in hac urbe degunt, omni virtutum genere anteit ut illi satisfaciam majorem in modum facio. Dum hæc scripsi interpellavit me Monavius prudens et bonus vir, qui tibi multam salutem dicit. Quod admones me ut scribam, si te Pragæ an Wiennæ invenire malim, id sic habeto, nihil mihi gratius esse posse, quam ut te quamprimum videam, sed ita ut cum tuo commodo fiat, quare velim sic hanc rem consideres, ut me tui amantissimum esse memineris, qui cum cito tua præsentia frui desiderat, tum vel maximè rationem tuæ utilitatis haberi cupit, præsertim cum parum interfuerit, si enim Wiennæ Imperator non erit, illicò se conferet Comes, ubicunque Aula erit.

Gratissima mihi fuerunt quæ scripsisti de Hispanis. In Batavio nihil novi dicitur, (nisi quod novum non est) nostros Doctores planè obsoletos esse. Hoc eleganter nimirum scripsisti, te noluisse de illo libello mihi molestum esse, nisi typis expressum putâs-ses, quasi verò, si te communi tantum amore prosequeretur, hæc non sint adeò exigua atque pusilla, ut quamvis oblata nullam gratiam mereri possent; tua verò tanta sunt erga me merita, ut planè pro rei dignitate habere gratiam, me unquam posse diffidam, referre omninò non possim, nisi Deus meis optatis nimium responderet. Quare noli amplius adeò disertus esse, nisi forsitan novas rixas excitemus, quæ cum fuerint comminus sine dubio magis periculosæ erunt. Oro, ut D^{no} Vulcobio dicas, me illi hoc tem-

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pore non scribere, quoniam nihil dignum scriptu habeam, et non dubitem, quin sit perturbatiore animo id pro certo habeat, me gratâ mente et magno amore illius humanitatem erga me prosequi. Commenda me duobus meis consanguineis Anglis, qui, ut opinor, jam tecum sunt. Noli oblivisci Bouchetelli. Vale. 4^o. Junii. 1574. Tui amantiss^{us} et observantiss^{us}

Philippus Sidnæus.

XIX

To Hubert Languet

S. P. D.

ACCEPI tuas literas charissime Huberte. Quibus etsi nihil commisisti, quod sensa animi tui exprimere posset, ne præ mea absentia forsân in alienas manus devenirent, ego tamen qui te penitus novi, summum dolorem quo afficeris facile agnovi. Quod cum ex multis aliis rebus compertum habeo, tum ex hoc præcipuè, quod stilus ille tuus, qui tanto flumine eloquentiæ redundare solet, nunc non secus ac amœni rivuli solent, dulci quodam murmure dilabitur; et aliud agens, id tamen quod alta mente repostum est, ingenue præ se ferre videtur. Equidem ab omni humanâ naturâ longe abhorrerem, si hunc unici mei amici casum ex animo non lugerem, quare nolo conari, hac ex parte, dolorem scilicet meum commemorando tuum levare, tu enim me nosti nec ferum nec ferreum esse. Hoc vero quod et prioribus literis feci a te iterum atque iterum peto, ut illud ingratum solum quod per tot annos tu coluisti, et nullos aut per exiguos fructus inde percepisti, tandem deseras et ad eos te conferas qui tui sunt amantissimi et non sunt Laodicenses. Neque deterrearis velim periculis quæ forsân imminent nostræ patriæ, tu enim qui omnes historias omnium gentium memoria tenes, non ignoras inde damnum nulli præter ipsos Anglorum magnates unquam illatum fuisse. Sed hæc mi Languete coram. Certus nuncius nudiustertius ad hanc urbem venit, qui confirmavit rumorem de Gallici regis obitu, reginam vero matrem constitutam esse, quæ administret rempublicam donec Polonia rex redire potuerit, interea dum Alençonius Navarræ et Momorancius custodiuntur. Mira res. Planè nescio quid cogitare debeam. An hujus morte vulnus nostræ causæ inflictum sit, an (quod velim) medecina adhibita. Deus Opt: Max: mira provi-

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dentia nostro tempore orbem Christianum regit. Mongomereum dicitur a Monpensiero esse captum, quod ego tamen non credo. Cras Judæus quidam Selimi Medicus, aget cum Venetis de pace certis conditionibus stabilienda: quid actum erit ad te scribam. Hispanos tumultuantes compescere conatur aut saltem simulat, ille egregius commendator, qui tantopere fæstinavit ut suæ stultitiæ specimen præberet, spero equidem ante paucos annos Hispanorum virtutem omnibus gentibus notam fore, qui nati servi cum nihil aliud unquam egerint, præterquam (quasi vorsura solverent) dominos commutarent, semper enim Carthaginensium, Romanorum, Vandalorum, Gothorum, Saracenorum, Maurorum mancipia fuerunt, nuper quidem unius Caroli virtute et quidem Belgæ erecti, post illius decessum, quanto impetu iter accelerent ut ad pristinum statum redeant videre est. Comes Hannaviæ hactenus literas quas expectavit, non accepit a Palatino: Comes quidem Sulmensis qui nuper inde venit affirmat brevi huc delatas fore, neque ego quidem illas quas scripseram patrem meum mihi misisse, mercator enim qui illas habuerat profectus est Romam sed ante decem dies redibit. Vale. Saluta officiose D. Vulcobium et Bouchetellum. Junii. Venetiis. 1574. Tuus ex animi voluntate
Philippus Sidneius.

XX

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHTE honorable and my singular good Lorde and unkle. Allthough I have at this presente little matter worthy the writinge unto yowr Lordeshippe, yet beinge newlie returned frome my poli[sh] journei, I wolde not omitt anie ocasion of humbly perfoorminge this dutie. Wherefore I hum[bly] beseeche yowr Lordeshippe to take these few lines in good parte, whiche I wryte rather to continew this I ow unto yow, then for any other thinge they may conteine in them. The Emperour as I wrate laste unto yowr Lordeshippe hathe these two yeeres continuallie pretended a journey to Prage, w[hiche] it is thoughte shall in deede be perfoormed, to the greate contentacion of that kingedome, w[hiche] otherwise seemed to bende to disobedience. There it is thoughte his son shall very shortlie be kinge,

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whome likewise the Emperour seekes by all meanes possible to advance to the kinged[ome] of the Romaines, and for that purpose desyres to call an imperiall diett in Francfort, th[e]

appointed for the elections, but it is thoughte the Electours will rather chose an other for this nexte ensuinge diett

whiche is saide shall be sommer followinge at the fur[dest] and then there is no hope of election. Not beinge at Francfort, it is likely it sha[l] at Regenspurg, where I beleve the Emperour will demaunde fur greater summes of mo[ney] then will be grawnted unto him. Though the peace betwixte the Turke and him, as yet as fur as it is knowne perfittlie concluded, yet it is thoughte the Turke will rat[her] proceede by sea then this waie, and as the frenche embassadour hathe writtne, mean[ethe to] visite the Popes territorie, perchaunce his conscience moveth him, to seeke the benefitt of Jubile.

I hope as the Spanierdes allreddy begin to speake lower, so the Popes holiness[e] will have lesse leasure to minstre suche wicked and detestable cownceills to the chris[tian] princes as hetherto he dothe. Owt of Frawnce yowr Lordeshippe hathe the advertisementes fu the Prince of Conde is retired to Basill where he livethe in companie withe the Ad[mirals] children, beinge frustrate of a greate hope he had conceived of suckowr owt of Jerm[any] wherein many and wise men do impute greate faulte to the prince Casimire the Cou[n]te Palatines seconde son, in so muche that to write to yowr Lordeshippe plainely, he is heavilie s[uspected] to be corrupted by the Frenche.

His father certainly is as vertuous a prince as livethe, he sufferethe him selfe to muche to be governed by that son. This I thoughte my dut[ie to] write as havinge hearde it in very good place and muche affectioned to the tr[ew] cawse. The Polakes hartily repente their so fur fetcht election, beinge now in suche case neither they have the kinge, nor any thinge the kinge withe so many othes had promised besides that their is lately sturred up a very dangerous Sedition, for the same c[awse] that hathe bredde suche lamentable ruines in France and Flandres. Now the is reasonably wel appeased, but it is thoughte it will remaine so but a while.

I have no other thinge worthy the writinge at this presente to yowr Lordeshippe wherefore I humbly ceasse withe my dailie and most boundne praier, that it please the Eternall, to continew

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and encrease yow in all prosperitie. Frome Vienne. This 27. of Novembre. 1574.

Your Lordeshippes moste.....

Philippe Sidney.

[To] the righte honorable and my singular [good Lorde and] unkle the Earle of [Leicester].

XXI

To Lord Burghley

RIGHTE honorable and my singular good Lorde. Since the laste I wrate unto your Lordeshippe, I have not had anie conveniente meanes of sendinge my scribbles, which humble office I desire to continew, rather to obey therein your commaundemente then for any thinge worthie to be advertised, they may happne to containe in them. Now havinge oportunitie by a frende of mine, who presentlie sendes his lettres into Englande, I wolde not omitt this ocasion, beseechinge your Lordeshippe rather to respecte the hartie desire to please yow, then the simplenes of the contentes, better then whiche your Lordeshippe oughte not to expecte of me. Beinge returned owt of Italie and detained for some time withe sicknesse in this cittie, yet coolde I not commaund my desire of seeinge Polande whiche time notwithstandinge, I mighte perchaunce have employed in more proffitable, at leaste more pleasante voiajes, frome thence beinge of late come hether, not in very good estate of boddie, I finde the affaires of this cownte as fur as I can learne to passe in this ordre. The Emperour hathe at lengthe obtained his longe desired truce of the greate Turke for 8 yeeres, the grawnte of whiche he hathe undrestood by a courier sente by his legier embassadowr, called Charles Rym, who is now in his returne not fur hence and in his roome there is allreddie at Constantinople David Ungnad. The conditions of the peace are not as yet knowne, but the emperowr is resolute to refuse no burdne, rather than enter in warr. He dothe expecte very shortlie the Turkishe embassadowr, for the confirmation of the peace, who is by nation a dutche man, borne in Bavier, the Turkes principall interpretour, named

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amonge them Mehemet Beck. This Cowrrier hathe broughte news from Constantinople that the Turkes navie is safe returned, whiche he will encrease the nexte yeere withe a hundred gallies for to invade Sicill. By the way Petro Portocarrero Capteine of the Gollett is deceased. Serbellone builder and capteine but evill defendour of the new fort is come alive to a miserable captivitie.

He saiethe likewise that there came to Constantinople advertisemente that the Belierbei of Egipte hathe latelie overthrowne in a very greate batteil, the Abissines subjectes to Pretre Jhon as we call him. In my simple opinion they have bene provoked by the Portugese to take this matter fur above their forces uppon them, for that the Turke by the redde sea dothe greatlie encroche uppon their Indian traffick. The expectation of these embassadours will cawse the Emperowr to delay his journey to Bohemia whiche notwithstandinge he muste necessarily ere it be longe performe they beinge very evill contente, of his so longe absence, in so muche that this yeere they have plainly refused to give certaine greate summes of money, whiche heretofore they had not denied. Besides that he muste please them for to gett his son the crowne for althoughe he do pretende hereditary succession they sceme they will not grawnte it any other waie but in manner of election. In this meane time he hathe sente the Lorde of Rosemberg a principall nobleman of Bohemia to the electours of Sax and Brandenburg, and the Lord of Arach to the other 4 electours, of the Rhine, to consulte of an Imperiall diett, which it is not unlikely shall be this sommer followinge, wherein if it be possible, he will perswade the election of his son to the kingedome of the Romaines as the tearme it. The Polakes havinge appeased a greate sedition in Crackow for the religion, have since defaitted twelve thowsande Tartars among whiche there were 3000 Turkes, whose returne with fur greater force they do daily loke for. It is thoughte they will chose an other kinge in May, allthoughe the Lithuanians be holy againste it. They have made truce withe the Moscovit, who bendes his forces as they say againste the kinge of Sueden for havinge burnte a toun of his called Narva.

Thus yowr Lordeshippe may see how bolde I am uppon yowr commandement to trouble yow from yowr weightie affaires, for whiche cravinge pardon and good acceptacion I humbly ceasse,

CORRESPONDENCE.

beseechinge the Eternall to grawnte yow in healthe encrease of all honowr.

Frome Wien this 17th of December 1574.

Yowr Lordeshippes to commaunde.

Philippe Sidney.

To the righte honorable and my singular [good Lord]e the Lorde hyghe Treasurer.

XXII

To Thomas Jordan

QUONIAM cras mihi hinc discedendum est (optime Jordane) volui te paucis hisce verbis salutare, ut hoc tenui quidem officio significarem tamen me singularis humanitatis, quam mihi exhibuisti, non esse immemorem. Quod si contigerit aliquem tuorum ad ea loca venire, ubi ego aliquid potero, conabor sane (quantum in me erit) meis officiis nostrae amicitiae satisfacere: cujus P. Languetus tibi ut aequum est charus, mihi dum vivam parentis loco habendus, conciliator fuit. Interea etiam atque etiam à te peto, ut mei memoriam conserves, et oro ut meis verbis cum tibi fuerit oportunum, multam salutem velis dicere generosis illis dominis, a quibus, te autore, tanta comitate exceptus fui: præcipue verò illi vere pio viro, mihique dum vivam summopere colendo, generoso domino, Baroni Zenotino.

Mitto ad te carmina quæ promisi: velim ut boni consula[nt] edoni certè non faciunt. Authoris nomen nescio, appa[ret] fuisse Gallum. Heri venit ille Mocmut, Turcicus lega[tus] cum magna sane et ferè regia pompa acceptus: sed comitat[ur] illius gentis nebulonibus, quos unquam vidi, turpissimis: diceres fuisse per aliquot dies suspensos ita exangues et lignei sunt. Bene vale, et me ut facis ama. Pragæ 2^o Martii. 1575.

Tui amantissimus

Philippus Sidneius.

A[mic]issimo viro, Domino Doctori
Jordano, Marchionatus
medico, amico suo charissimo.

CORRESPONDENCE.

XXIII

To the Count of Hannau

POSTQUAM redii in Patriam, Illustris Domine, nihil mihi antiquius esse potuit quàm ut quàmprimùm possem tuam celsitudinem certior facerem. Ea enim semper fuerunt eximiæ tuæ erga me humanitatis indicia, ut non possim non mihi persuadere omnia quæ mihi prospere succedant, tibi jucunda et grata esse. Ultimo igitur Maii ventis secunde afflantibus ad hunc nostrum insularem nidum appuli ubi omnes meos sanos repperi, reginam quidem quanvis ætate nonnihil provectam, corpore sane hactenus robustam, quod (quoniam ita Deus vult, ut ex tam tenui filo pendeat salus nostra,) assiduis nostratum votis ipsi Deo opt: Max: merito est commendandum: est enim nobis quasi stipes ille Meleagricus, quo pereunte omnis nostra tranquillitas concidit. Sed ut hæc omittam oro te atque obtestor, ut in quibuscunque locis sim velis tibi persuadere me semper eundem esse quod attinet ad vehementem meum et vere fidelem erga te amorem. Nolo tuam illustrem dominationem diutius detinere: nihil enim habemus novi, tantum oro ut meo nomine p. s. d. viro bono et prudenti domino Paulo a Welsperg, quem tibi (quanvis pro ipsius meritis et tuo iudicio bene norim hoc fore supervacaneum) vehementer etiam atque etiam commendo. Vale. Londini, 12^o Junii 1575. Tibi deditissimus. Philippus Sidneius.

Ill^{mo} Domino D. Philippo [Ludovic]o Comiti Hannaviæ,
... meo semper observand^{mo}.

XXIV

To Robert Walker

GOOD M^r Walker. I pray yow in any cace make with as much speede as may be possible for me, provision of a stable, and hay and provender for halfe a score of horses which are comminge owt of Irelande withe in this ten dayes I loke for them they shall not stay there above a monthe but this I must needes have done as yow will any way pleasur me. From Grenewiche. This 4 of November 1576.

Yowr lovinge frende Philippe Sidney.

To my lovinge frende and servante M^r Roberte Walker, or in his absence to Thomas Smallman keeper of Otforde.

CORRESPONDENCE.

XXV

To Lord Burghley

RIGHTE honorable my singular good Lorde.

Sir Nicholas Bagnoll dothe requeste my humble lettres to yowr Lordeship for the somm of to hundred pownde owt of the treasure, which he for his necessities dothe desyre to receave here and to pay at his comminge into Irelande.

I do take it that there is as muche due unto him, and besydes I know the creditt my father hathe in him, dothe stretch to a matter of greater importance, so that thus furr these few lynes shall only serve, humbly to advertise yowr Lordeship that I holde it for assured my father will be very well satisfied withe it. Furdre I can not proceede, but referringe it holly to yowr Lordeships goodnes humbly leave yowr Lordeship to the protection of the Allmightie.

Frome Leyster howse. This 8th of Februarie. 1576 [-7].

Yowr Lordeships moste humbly
at commawndement.

Philippe Sidney.

To the righte honorable my
very good Lorde, the Lorde
Burghley. Lorde Hy Treasurer
of England.

XXVI

To Robert Walker

SERVANTE Walker. I pray yow that yow will owt of the money yow receive of my fathers lett my sisters olde governess, Mrs Anne Mantell have the summe of twentie powndes which is dew unto her for her wages my father gives her. If yow possibly may I pray yow doe this and yow shall doe me a greate pleasure, and so farewell. This 22th of Februarie. 1576[-7].

Yowr lovinge frende.

Philippe Sidney.

To my lovinge frende
M^r Roberte Walker.
etc.

CORRESPONDENCE.

XXVII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT Honorable. I received in commandement from hir Majesties that in my waye to the Emperour, I should deliver her Majesties letters to the brethren Palatins, and withall give them to understand how greatly, and in what good respectes her Majestie was sorry for the death of the late Elector, and yet withall somewhat comforted by the assured expectation her Majestie had of their succeeding unto him in all his vertues, I should according as I sawe cause perswade them to brotherly love necessary for the publique weale, and their owne preservation. Afterwards to Casimire in particular I should so much the more expresse her Majesties good favor towards him, as he was the son most deere unto his father, and had allready given very good shew of his princely vertues. Lastly I should learne of him, whether the mony delivered, were as yet received, which her Majestie would be content to leave there in some place of that country in deposite. For the first I could not yet doe it, but only to Prince Casimir, the Electour being at a towne of his in the upper Palatinate called Amberg, whether I meane to goe unto him, being not much out of the way for Prage, where the Emperour lyes, if I doe not meete him by the way, as it is thought I shall, but to Prince Casimire I said according to mine Instructions, and to that purpose so much more, as the course of speech, and the framing of the time did give occasion.

His answer was that her Majestie in deed had great reason to be sorry for the losse of his father, having bene in truth so trew a friend and servant unto her, of his other good partes he left to be wittnessed by the things he hath done in the advancement of vertue and Religion. For himselfe he could not thinke himselfe bound enough to her Majestie for this signification of her goodnes towards him, and in the vertues of his father, there was none he would seeke more to follow, then his duty and good will to her Majestie. This he did in very good termes, and with a countenance well witnissing it came from his hart.

For the second I founde no cause to perswade him to unity with his brother, he being as he saith, fully perswaded so to

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embrace it as nothing more, yet found I in him great discontentment that his brother beginnes to make alteration in Religion, for having two principall gover[n]ments the upper Palatinate which lyes in Bavaria, and this which they calle the nether by the Rhine, the Elector hath allready in the upper established Lutheranisme, and as it is feared, is comming shortly to doe the like here. He hath used great perswasions to his brother in it, and of late hath sett out in print his fathers confession in his owne name, to the end as I pe[r]ceive by him to avoyde all suspicion, that either flattery in his fathers time or feare now did or may move him either to embrace or leave that which concernes his conscience. This confession he hath sent to all the Electors, and most part of the Princes of Germany. He is resolved if his brother doe drive away from him the learned men of the true profession, that he will receive to him, and hereof something may breed gall betwixt them if any doe, but the best is to be hoped, considering Prince Lodovick is of a soft nature, ledde to these things only thorough conscience, and Prince Casimir wise, that can temper well with the others weaknes.

For the third which was to shew her Majesties speciall good liking of Prince Casimir, I did it with the first, and his answer was the same protestation of his good harte as before I wratte.

In the last touching her Majesties money his answer was the King of France had falsefied his promise, and therefore neither her Majestie nor the Ritters who doe greatly cry for it, could as yet have their dew. I told him it would be a cause to make her Majestie withdraw from like loanes, as the well paying would give her cause to doe it in greater sommes. He was greeved with my urging of him, and assured me, that if he could gett the payement, he wolde rather dye then not see her Majestie honorably satisfied.

Then I pressed him for certeine jewells and ostages, I had learned he had in pawne of the King, he told me, they were allready the rittresses, but if her Majestie would buy any of them she might have a good bargaine.

In fyne this I find that of nyne monthes was dew to the soldiers they are paied but to and an halfe, for other the Duke of Lorraine and Vaudemont are bound of which they make perfect account.

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Their Jewells and ostages they valew a little more then at halfe a moneths paye, so that there is due unto them yet foure moneths pay, which according to their gentle allowance comes to above a million of frankes: untill most part of this be payed I doe not think her Majestie can receive her dew. The best is a thing well employed is halfe paied, and yet truly by that I find in the Prince, I doe hold my selfe in good beleefe, that her Majestie within a yeare or two shalbe honorably answered it.

Now touching the particularities her Majestie willed me to learne of him, as of the Emperors both in matters of State and Religion how the Princes of Germany are affected in French and Low Country matters, what forces there are preparing here, and what he himselfe meanes to be.

For the Emperor he knowes very little of him, but such generall pointes every where known, of his papistry or Spanish gravity. But this I understand by men of good judgement, that he is left poore, the division with his brethern not yet made, warres with the Turke feared, and yet his peace little better, considering the great tributes he paies, and the continuall spoiles his subjectes suffer uppon the Frontiers.

The other Princes of Germany have no care but how to grow riche and to please their senses; the Duke of Saxony so carried away with the ubiquity, that he growes bitter to the true Lutherians.

The rest are of the same mould, thinking they should be safe, though all the world were on fire about them, except it be the Landgrave William, and his brethern, and this Prince Casimire, who wisheth very earnestly, that her Majestie would writte of purpose unto the Landgrave, being a Prince both religious, wise, and very much addicted to her Majestie.

Forces there are none publiquely preparing. Casimir the only man, the Ritters and soldiors doe looke and depend uppon him, he temporises a little staying till he gathers of the King of France and King of Navarre 3 months paye for such an army, as he will bring, and then in deed he saith, I shall heare, that he is dead, or that he hath left a miserable France of the papishe syde. I have sent the Princes confession in Dutch. The Prince did give of a meaning Don John should have to marry the Quene of Scotts, and so to sturr troubles in England.

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There is none of the Princes like to enter into any League (and that rather as it were to serve the Quene then any way ells) but the Prince Casimir, the Landgrave, and the Duke of Brunswick.

The Bohemians which were earnest in Maximilians time to have Churches of the true Religion granted them doe now grow cold only being content to have the freedome in their houses. I will not further trouble you, but with my humble commendations unto you leave you to the Eternall. From Heidelberg this 22 of Marche 1576 [-7].

Yours to doe you any service

Philipp Sydney.

XXVIII

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my very good Lord only to give your Lordshippe to undrestande that I do not forgett the dutie I beare to your Lordshippe I am bolde in haste and parting to wryte these few wordes unto you. For otherwise neither is there matter worthy the sendinge unto you, and suche as this my journey breedes I have at large writtne it to Mr Secretary. Therefore it shall suffice me to give your Lordshippe humbly to undrestande that I am in helthe and in deede, as I have greate cawse, reddey to do your Lordshippe any service. I beseeche your Lordshippe to take these few lynes in good parte which I will ende withe my humble praier to the Allmightie to sende your Lordshippe longe lyfe in helthe and prosperitie.

Frome Heidelberg this 22th of Marche 1576[-7].

Your Lordshippes humbly at commawndement.

Philippe Sidney.

Thus muche I thoughte your Lordshippe wolde be contente if I did adde to these former lynes. that as yet the division betwixte the Palatins is not perfittly made, allthoughe the fathers will be sett downe, in so muche that there is some feare there will some jar fall betwixte them that beinge helped on with the diversitie of their religions. Lodowick hathe hetherto kept Casimirs subjectes frome swearing unto him, and at this very

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present, gives owt it is in respect he will bring his brother from Calvinisme. Lifland hath givne them selves to the Moscovite, and Dansick warr sorely begonne againe. Of the other syde the Emperour feares revolte in Hungary to the same king of Poland. These news becaws I newly receaved them from a very honest gentleman at Prage, I am bolde to sende them thus scribblingly to yowr Lordeshippe.

To the righte honorable my singular good Lord the Lord Burghley Lord Hyghe Threasorer of England and Knight of the most noble ordre.

XXIX

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHTE honorable. The nexte day I dispatched away Woodall be 22 of Marche, I departed frome Heidelberge, and not findinge the at Amberg as I hoped to have done came to Prage uppon Maun uppon Easter Monday afterwarde I had Audience, where accor[ding to] her Majesties commawndemente, I was to make knownc unto him, h[ow] greatly Her Majestie was grieved withe the losse of so worthy a the Emperour his father was, her Majestie havinge so greate cawse as bothe the publicke losse of suche a prince (the fruites of whose government were well fownde, bothe in the mainteining the empir[e] and staying the Turkes invasion) and the particular goodwill ever betwixte Her Majestie and him, coolde not but greatly g her.

Secondly Her Majesties good hope of him, that he wolde seconde his fath[er] in his vertues and the manner of his governemente.

And her Majesties counsaile unto him to avoide the turbulente councells, of guyded withe pryvate passions whereof the issue is uncertaine [the bene]fites none and the harmes manifeste.

Besides these as occasion shoulde serve I shoulde give him to undres[tande] nobly Her Majestie had proceeded in the Low Contrey matters and upp[on] good growndes. The .3. firste I did declare together unto him other reasons as bothe the instructions did more largely specify, and it selfe did ministre.

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He awnswered me in Latin withe very few wordes, to the firste, persuade him selfe so of her Majestie as it pleased her to signify unt[o him], for which signification he gave her Serenitie (for that was the tearme he very greate thanks. And therewithall added a certaine speeche o[f] the praises her Majestie gave his father he saide he wolde not stande because he mighte seeme to deryve parte of the glory to him selfe his goodwill towardes her Majestie of which he was lefte very good wi[tness] havinge by many meanes knowne his fathers minde therein.

To the seconde and thirde he awnswered together, that as God had pr of the Empire, so he wolde provyde him withe counceile how to it, but that he did in most gratefull manner accepte her Majesti[es] and that the rule he wolde follow chiefly, shoulde be his fathers imit after that he fell into dyverse other particuler demandes and speeches to longe to recyte, but that I uppon ocasion of Don Jhon D'Austri[che] twice or thryse to give him to undrestande how her Majestic had pr those thinges, but his allowance thereof was so generall that I coolde tyme passe no furdre.

The nexte day I delivered her Majesties lettres to the Empresse, withe the singular signification of her Majesties greate good will unto her, and her Majesties wisshinge of her to advise her son to a wyse and peaceable governemente. Of the Emperour deceased I used but few wordes, because in trothe I saw it bredd some troble unto her, to heere him mentioned in that kinde. She awnswered me withe many cowrteowse speeches, and greate acknowledginge of her owne beholdingenes to her Majestie. And for her son she saide she hoped he wolde do well, but that for her owne parte she saide she had given her selfe frome the worlde and wolde not greatly sturr frome thence forwarde in it. Then did I deliver the queene of Frawnces letter, she standinge by the Empresse, usinge suche speeches as I thought were fitt for her double sorrow, and her Majesties good will unto her, confirmed by her wyse and noble governinge of her selfe in the tyme of her beinge in Frawnce. Her awnswere was full of humblenes but she spake so low that I coolde not undrestande many of her wordes. Frome them I wente to the yonge princes, and paste of eache syde certaine

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complementes, which I will leave becawse I feare me I have allreddy bene over longe therein. The reste of the daies that I lay there I enfourmed my selfe as well as I could of suche particularities as I receaved in my enstruptions, as of the 1. Emperours disposicion and his brethren. 2. By whose Advise he is directed. 3. When it is lykely he shall marry. 4. What princes in Jerny are moste affected to him. 5. In what state he is lefte for revenews. 6. What good agreement there is betwixte him and his brethren. 7. And what partage they have. In these thinges I shall at my returne more largely be hable and with more leysure to declare it now only thus muche I will trouble yow withe.

That the Emperour is holy by his inclination givne to the warres, few of wordes, sullein of disposition, very secrete and resolute, nothings the manner his father had in winninge men in his behavior, but yet consta[nt] in keepinge them. And suche a one as thoughe he promise not muche owtwardly, hathe as the Latines say *Aliquid in Recessu*.

His Brother Earnest, muche lyke him in disposition, but that he is more franke and forward, which perchawnce the necessity of his fortune dryves him to. Bothe extremely Spaniolated. Matthias and Maximilian lykew[ise] broughte upp togeather, but in Jerny, and in their behaviour fram of them selves to the lykinge of this contrey people, especially Maximilian who seemes in deede to promise some greate worthines, but their yowthe, and education as yet under governement makes the judge[ment] the harder.

Albertus and Wenceslaus are in Spaine. Albertus of late made Car of the beste witt of them all, and uppon him it is thoughte t of Toledo shall be bestowed. Wenceslaus is of a very quick spr as yet very yonge, and made putt on a Spanishe gravity. upp to be servantes to the pope, and that is lyke to be their h Ambition. 2. The Emperour is most governed by one Die greate Master of his howse, beares the redd crosse of Spaine and a professed servante to that crowne and inquisitors governemente.

The nuntio of the Pope that is now there is lykewise great and followed by him, so that what cownceills suche authors give m[ay be] easily imagined, thoughe the effectes be longe in bringinge forth.

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- 3 He dothe kepe him unmarried till the Daughter of Spaine be
 is now eleaven yeere olde, there was lyke to have
 growne some because the kinge of Spaine seemed
 rather to have lyked of the k[inge of] Portugall, but it is now
 hoped that that kinge will have the Da[ughter of] Frawnce, and
 so the Emperour to strengthen the holinesse of
 muche the more, will become bothe son, brother, nephew, and
 the kinge of Spaine.
- 4 How the princes of Jernany are affect[ed to] him, and what
 authority the howse of Austriche dothe daily g them
 by their carelesnes, and whylst as yow wrate they are in
 securitie, I will if it please yow referr till my returne.
 thereuppon hanges dyverse thinges, and I have allreddy bene
- 5 . His revewes are greate, but his enemy the Turke
 so muche ab greatnes, that he can not turne muche
 of them to other use The Empire of late at the Dyet
 of Ratisbone did grawnte his fa[ther] of six million of
 florins to be paide in six yeere. He hat[h] nothinge of
 as yet, but makes perfitt accompte not only to it but to
 continew it, which if it be so will be a matter of greate
 consideringe he is bounde to no other thinge for it but the
 defenc[e of his] owne patrimony. I will bringe yow a par-
 ticular of his revenews gesse in a thinge yeerly allmoste
 changinge may suffer.
- 6 The brethren do agree very well and so certainly are lyke to
 doe suddety of the worlde is conspyred to unite them,
 and more agreate that sorte, to some terrible ende.
 This is certaine that none is loked Majestie, and
 the poore reliques of Frawnce and Flawndres, as the
 to her state, for as for Jernany I assure yow they make ac-
 cown[t] them in effecte allreddy at leaste hurtlesse
 enemies. 7. Their pa as yet made, Austriche is
 the only thinge that can be divyded. I am of
 will be contented withe Pensions. Earnestus especially having
 as h absolute governemente of Hungary and Aus-
 triche the Emperour will keepe hi

in

I am ashamed I have trobled yow so long. But I will leave
 the Emperours acceptacion of the Low Contrey matters till I

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may my selfe say it unto yow, and so his speeches at my farewell which I am afraide I was in the beginning of these scribbles to longe in. Hether I came the laste of Aprill, and had Audiance the nexte day. I had frome her Majestie to condole with him and to perswade him to unitie withe his brother, he made his vizchancelour to awnswere me, whiche he did in a very longe speeche, withe thanke[s] to her Majestie and prayses of the worthy prince that is dead, the pointe of concorde with his brother he thanked her Majestie for remembringe, and fell into a common place of the necessitie of brothers love, but descended nothinge into his owne particularitie or what he thoughte of him.

One thinge I was bolde to adde in my speeche, to desyre him in her Majesties name to have mercyfull consideration of the churche of the religion, so notably established by his father as in all Jernany there is not suche a number of excellent learned men, and truly wolde rue any man to see the desolation of them. I laied before him as well as I coolde the dangers of the mightiest princes of Christendome by entryng into lyke vyolente changes, the wronge he shoulde doe his worthy father utterly to abolishe that he had instituted and so as it were condemne him, besydes the example he shoulde give his posterity to handle him the lyke. This I emboldened my selfe to doe seinge as me thoughte greate cawse for it either to move him at least to have some regarde for her Majesties sake, or if that followed not, yet to leave that publicke testimony with the churche of Jernany that her Majestie was carefull of them, besydes that I learned Prince Casimir had used her Majesties authoritie in perswadinge his brother from it. This I hope will be takne for sufficiente cawse therein, of my boldenes. My awnswere was at firste none, so longe as Mr vizchanceilour stode by: after I had an other interpretour he made me this awnswere that for her Majesties sake he wolde doe muche, he mislyked not of the men, but must be constrained to doe as the other princes of the Empyre. In the mea[n] time he is gone to the bathes for the laste remedy of his infirmity.

How his brother and he stande I will lykewyse referr till my returne and that I have spokne withe Prince Casimir. Frome who[m] so to ende this longe troblinge of yow, I meane to goe with her Majesties lett[er] to the Langrave who is the only

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prince Casimir makes accownte of. What I shall fynde amonge these princes truly I know not till I have spokne with Prince Casimir. I go to morrow to Caisarlautar, but I see their proceedinges suche that my ho[pe] dothe every day grow lesse and lesse. I beseeche yow pardon me for my longe troblinge of yow. I most humbly recommede my selfe unto yow, and leave yow to the Eternalls most happy protection. Frome Heidelberg, this 3^d of May. 1577.

Yowrs humbly at commawndem[ent]
Philipp Sidney.

XXX

To the Landgrave William of Hesse

ILLUSTRISIME Princeps. Ante dies duodecim incidi Heidelbergae in legatos vestrae Celsitudinis, quibus dixi, mihi demandata esse quaedam a Serenissima Angliae Regina Domina mea Clementissima, de quibus cum vestra Celsitudine mihi agendum esset. Mihi quidem admodum gratum erat, quod se mihi offerret hujusmodi occasio colloquendi et contrahendi noticiam cum vestra Celsitudine de cujus virtute et prudentia plurima ex aliis audiui. Sed cum me ad iter istud accingerem, accepi literas a Serenissima Regina, quibus jubet me reditum meum in Angliam accelerare. Coactus itaque illud prius meum institutum mutare mitto literas ipsius Majestatis ad vestram Celsitudinem per hunc nobilem virum D. Richardum Alanum suae Majestatis de Camera Aulicum.

Mandata vero, quae ad vestram Celsitudinem habui, sunt : Serenissimam Reginam cupidissimam esse contrahendi cum vestra Celsitudine vel potius conservandi jam contractam illam conjunctionem et amicitiam, quae ipsius parenti Regi Henrico foelicissimae memoriae ac etiam ipsius Majestati intercessit cum vestrae Celsitudinis patre praestantissimo Principe, et certandi mutuis officiis, ac conferendi consilia de iis, quae ad salutem reipublicae Christianae pertineant : quo possitis conjunctis animas occurrere machinationibus pontificis Romani : qui toto conatu incumbit in perniciem eorum, qui excusso jugo, quod majorum nostrorum cervicibus imposuerat, se in libertatem vindicarunt, quo Deum purè et sanctè colere possent ac suae saluti consulere. Ut autem id, quod habet in animo Pontifex

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perficiat, dat operam, ut Reges ac principes, qui ejus tyrannidi sunt adhuc obnixi, jungat foederibus, quo possint conjunctis viribus nos opprimere, quod videtur ipsis tandem non fore difficile, nisi etiam nos conjunxerimus ad propulsandum injurias si quas nobis inferre conabuntur. Nec sane id nobis quisquam improbare poterit, cum bonum officium sit, non solum a se et suis repellere injuriam sed etiam suscipere defensionem eorum, qui adversus injustam vim se tueri non possunt. Pontificem autem id agere ut nos omnes perdat, cuius satis constat ex bellis quibus per tot annos ardent regna Galliae et inferior Germania. Nam cum nemo ibi sit, qui non suo regi esse obsequentissimus, modo ipsi Deum pure invocare concedatur, ita tamen istorum regum animos fascinavit pontifex, ut per multos annos omne genus crudelitatis in suos subditos exercuerint, quo possint ejus tyrannidem in se et suos stabilire. Nec sane lene est vulnus, quod his proximis annis infixit Germaniae reductis sub suam tyrannidem aliquot provinciis, quae dudum ab eo defecerant, et puriorem religionem erant professae, quo ejus successu quam arrogantes facti sint ii qui ei sint addicti satis audio, conventus imperii superiore aestate Ratisbonae peractus ostendit. Sed haec quae sunt odiosa commemorare desinam cum sint notissima vestrae Celsitudini ac etiam de iis pluribus verbis nuper egerim cum Illustrissimo principe Domino Johanne Casimiro Palatino Rheni atque quem de iis rebus ad vestram Celsitudinem copiose scripsisse aut scripturum non dubito. Peto autem a vestra Celsitudine ut haec quae a me bono animo dicta sunt, boni consulat et dignetur ad Serenissimae Reginae literas ita respondere, ut ipsius Majestas ex ea re voluptatem capiat, et intelligat vestram Celsitudinem praestantissimi sui parentis vestigiis constanter insistere velle.

Ego vestrae Celsitudini ac toti illustrissimae vestrae familiae omnia fausta precor et peto a vestra Celsitudine ut sibi persuadeat me semper fore cupidissimum ipsi inserviendi quandocumque se ejus rei offeret occasio.

Francofurti ad Moenum, 13^o Maii 1577.

Vestrae Illustrissimae Celsitudinis
observantissimus

Philippus Sidneius.

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XXXI

To Hubert Languet

MI charissime Languete. Ex ternis tuis quas literis 24 Augusti scriptis ad me misisse affirmas binas tantum accepi. Eas quidem omnis humanitatis veræque amicitiae plenas, sed quid hoc novum est? Itane putas exsolvi posse promissum quod sanctè fecisti de nobis invisendis. Hoc esset plane domine Huberte verba dare. Gaudeo sanè te non longe abesse Spira, ubi jure tecum agi potest.

Nuper hic fuit nobilis vir nomine de Tamars. Quocum noticiam contraxi, et eò quidem libentius quia sæpenumero honorificam tui mentionem me præsentē fecerit. Sic et Aldegundus sæpe, ipseque Princeps, cum apud illius celsitudinem diverterem, multa dixit quibus intelligerem te summopere illi esse charum. Quorsum hæc. Plane ut tibi persuadeam, ut illum modo tuto possis invisas, inde ad nos venias. Habebis ibi pulcherrimum campum exercendi ea in hac nova republica formanda, quæ per totum vitæ tempus tam sedulo didicisti. Et sanè spero me, antequam multæ septimanæ elabantur, eo venturum. Amo enim Principem illum, et forsā aliquo modo magis ei inservivi, quam ipse noverit. Ita sanè nostri animi hoc tempore inclinantur, ut (si bella ex Belgio continuentur) in aliquam spem adducar, vaticinium illud tuum, quod mihi de ipso aliquando Viennæ dixisti, felicem eventum habiturum. Marchio Havræus auxilium flagitat credoque, si ita res postulaverit, exoraturum fore. Pax Gallica aliquo modo nostram reginam perturbat, putat enim secum male agi. Causam nosti. Ego quidem hæc parvi momenti judico, semper enim et causam et animum habebunt hæc rumpendi, modo aliquid certi fundamenti, quo niti possint videant.

Scripsi tibi ante annum de Furbissero quodam, qui æmulus Magellani fretum quod septentrionalem Americæ partem alluere existimat investigavit. Mira est historia. Is cum præterito anno tardius procederet, ita ut autumno Bavataos tantum insulamque quam Frislandiam Zeno Veneto inventam esse judicat, præternavigaret, appulit insulam quandam, ut se suosque aliquo modo reficeret. Ibiq̃ue forte fortuna juvenis quidam ex sociis ipsius particulam terræ, quam resplendentem vidit, sustulit, monstravitque Furbissero. Ipse cum alia curaret, nec crederet, in regione adeo septentrionali pretiosa metalla gigni, parvi ea pendit. Sed

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hieme jam incipiente rediit. Juvenis terram illam ut laboris sui signum, (nec enim alia conjectaverat) secum retinuit, donec Londinum rediret. Ibi primum quidam ex amicis juvenis cum animadverteret, miro modo relucentem, experimentum fecit, invenitque esse aurum purissimum, nulloque alio metallo mixtum. Adeo ut Furbisserus vere proximè elapso eò remeaverit, jussus insulam illam perlustrare, nec ulterius progredi si ea expectationi responderet. Quod et fecit, jamque reversus est. Naves quas tres tantum easque parvas habuit onustas referens, diciturque (nam adhuc non exportarunt) bis centum tonnas mineralis terræ tulisse : certum indicium tulit, insulam adeo metalliferam esse ut Pervinas regiones saltem ut nunc sunt longe superare videatur. Sunt et sex aliæ insulæ huic vicinæ, quæ videntur parum ei cedere. Hoc igitur tempore consilium initur, quomodo hi nostri hactenus sanè fructuosi labores integri possint conservari, contra injurias aliarum nationum, inter quas Hispani et Dani videntur præcipuè considerandi. Illi quia Papaniano jure, occidentalia omnia sibi vendicant. Hi quo septentrionaliores eò propiores, et Islandia freti aptius ad hoc iter accommodati. Necnon dicuntur navigandi arte satis valere. De hac igitur re, tuum judicium pro amore nostro mihi mittas velim, simulque commodam viam describas illas mineras exercendi. Promisisti te Gutebergica jura mihi missurum fuisse. Hoc ut quamprimum facias oro. Ex illis forsàn aliquid lucis erui potest. Nos enim hanc artem paulo melius scimus quam vindemiam. Itaque scribere memineris ut famæ quæ de te hic maxima est, respondeas. Literas enim nisi prohibeas reginæ monstrabo. Res est profecto magni momenti, et quæ veram religionem profitentibus aliquando forsàn conducet. Scripsi tibi ter de illo nostro magno negotio. Quare puto tibi ea de re satisfactum.

Oro ut diligenter ad me scribas, et pigritiam forsàn excutiam. Literas Fremingo nostro mittas. Taxius enim veloces suos equos nimium exercuit. Doleo sanè casum illius viri. Belus noster tecum jam ut credo veteres amicitiaæ fructus suaviter in memoriam vocat. Amo illum et tamen invideo. Lubetius noster mecum egit de pecunia quam rex Galliaæ debet liberis Germaniæ civitatibus. Hic profecto video consiliarios libenter velle civitatibus Germanicis gratificari. Sed ut nosti vous autres françois nous devez il y a long temps toute l'Aquitaine et la Normandie, mais vous feres plus tost banquerouttes que les paier. Et pourtant

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nous estimons peu tels debtors et moins si mauvais fermiers. Peto a te ut mihi scribas quo in statu res tuæ sint. Nisi persuasum habeas me, in quacunq̃ re valeam, semper fore paratissimum tibi inservire, scælestum me judicas. Nec mihi absentem animum objicias : nunquam enim aliquid remisi ex illo vehementi amore quo te semper prosequutus sum. Sed potius in dies auxi, dulcedinemque tuæ consuetudinis absens vel maximè sensi. Sed tu vide quid Aristoteles in Rhetoricis de senibus habeat. Esse nimirum in amore frigidus, et nos irridere nostris spiritibus in amicitia colenda, quasi nihil aliud essent, quam juvenilis ardoris fumi. Sed, Deus bone, quis jam audet me pigritiæ nomine accusare, cum ita longas literas scribam. Vide ut mihi longiores rescribas. Habebis enim mensis unius ad minimùm usuram. Vale, et me optimo Banos[io] commendes, Lubetio nostro, Clusio, optimo Jordano, meoque Andrea, et Beuterichio, omnium reisterorum doctoratissimo, et omnium doctorum reisteratissimo, (ut Cicero, ni fallor, de Scævola et Crasso,) ita mea officia deferas ut illius qui eos omnes amat, et cupit eis singulis gratificari et inservire. Iterum vale, mi Huberte. In Aula Regia. 10^o Octobris 1577. Tui amantissimus. Philippus Sidneius.

Miror quod nihil de Wackero jam diu intellexerim. Fuit hic ilico post reditum meum ex Germania Henricus, baro a Lichtenstein, cui sane talem humanitatem non exhibui quam debui, ita fui planè implicitus negotiis ; et præ absentia parentis et avunculorum qui tunc temporis in Balneis erant non benè instructus ad eum ut volui accipiendum. Oro ut cum tibi idoneum tempus fuerit, me excuses. Est sanè præclarus juvenis, et quem ego ex corde amo. Et quandocunque aliquis ex ejus amicis huc venerit, conabor hanc culpam compensare. Consanguineus meus Grivellus te officiose salutat.

[Clarissi]mo viro domino Langueto,
domino meo carissimo. Francofurti ad Mænum.

XXXII

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my very good Lorde. I am bolde to trouble yowr Lordeshippe withe these few wordes, humbly to crave yowr Lordeshippes favour so furr unto me, as that it will please yow to lett me undrestande, whether I may withe yowr Lorde-

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shippes leave, and that I may not offende, in wante of my service, remaine absente frome the cowrte this Christemas tyme.

Some ocasions, bothe of helthe and otherwise do make me muche desyre it but knowinge how muche my dutie goes beyonde any suche cawses, makes me bolde to beseeche humbly yowr Lordeshippe to know yowr direction, which I will willingly follow, not onely in these duties I am tyed to, but in any thinge, wherein I may be hable to doe yowr Lordeshippe service. I will no furdre trouble your Lordeshippe but withe the remembrance of my dutie to yowr Lordeshippe and my Lady and Awnte, and so I humbly leave yow bothe to the Eternal, who allwaies prosper yow. Frome Wilton, this 16th of December 1577.

Yowr Lordeshippes humbly at comandemente.

Philippe Sidney.

I was bolde of late to move yowr Lordeshippe in the cace of the poore stranger musicien.

He hath allreddy so furr tasted of yowr Lordeshippes goodnes, as I am rather in his behalfe humbly to thanke yowr Lordeshippe yet his cace is suche as I am muche constrained, to continew still a suiter to yowr Lordeshippe for him.

[To the r]ighte honorable my [singular good Lorde] the Earle of [Leicester] &c.

XXXIII

To Hubert Languet

Mi charissime Huberte. Simul et Robertus Belus et Rogerius et Buterichius tuus, cum tuis optatissimis literis venere, ita ut eodem tempore, mihi et audire te et videre, summa mea cum voluptate viderer. Tu me pigritiæ nomine acriter accusas, et interea in eandem culpam impingis, immo ideo majorem, quia tuis ego fio melior, meæ tibi inaniter obstrepant necesse est. Et stili usus, ut videre est, planè mihi excidit, et ipse animus, si forsàn unquam aliqua in re valuit, incipit jam præ ignavo nostro otio vires suas et sine sensu amittere et non illibenter remittere. Quem enim ad finem sunt nobis nostrae cogitationes ad variam cognitionem excitandæ, nisi locus illius exercendæ detur, ut inde publica utilitas redundet, quod in corrupto seculo sperare non licet. Quis musicam nisi ad delectationem? Architecturam nisi ad ædes fabricandas discit? Sed ipsa mens, inquires, divinæ

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mentis particula, ita excolitur. Summus certè si hoc fatemur fructus. Sed videamus an non nostris splendidis erroribus pulchram sed fucatam speciem induamus. Dum enim mens ita quasi sibi extrahitur, non potest aciem suam in se penitus intuendam convertere cui operæ nulla quam homines navare possunt comparari potest. Nonne vides me eleganter stoicum agere, imo et cinicus ero nisi tu me revoces. Quare, si velis, para te in me : campum jam monstravi, et apertè tibi denuncio bellum. Sed miror quid tibi in mentem venerit, mi charissime Languete, quod cum adhuc nihil me dignum egerim, velles me matrimonii vinculis obstringi nec tamen aliquam denotas, sed potius ipsum statum quem tamen tu tuo exemplo hactenus non confirmasti extollere videris. De illa quâ quam indignus sim facilè agnosco, jamdudum meas rationes, breviter sanè sed ut poteram tibi scripsi.

Hoc quidem tempore credo te aliquid aliud sensisse, quod quicquid fuerit, ut ad me scribas vehementer oro, magni enim sunt ponderis apud me omnia quæ a te proveniunt. Et ut ingenue fatear aliquo modo dubito, ne aliquis suspicionibus magis quam sapientia validus aliquid sinistri de me tibi insusurraverit, quod tibi quanvis non fuerit persuasum voluisti tamen cautè et amicè mihi considerandum præbere. Quod si ita fuerit, oro ut mihi rem ipsam manifesto scribas, ut me tibi cui cupio esse probatissimus purgare possim. Sin tantum jocus aut amicum consilium fuerit, id quoque ut significes oro, cum omnia tua mihi non minus quam quæ sunt carissima semper grata veniant. Novi hic nihil est, nisi quod novum in monarchia est et fere inauditum, quod nihil eveniat novum. Aurum nostrum Furbisseries jam liquefactum non ita magnas opes producit ut primò ostentaverat. Tamen non contemnendæ insulæ sunt ad sexagesimum secundum gradum, sed hoc inter maximè secreta tenent ne ut scis præripiatur occasio. Imo et eodem gradu sperant se posse fretum transire : adeo sunt nugæ ille magnus mundus a cosmographis descriptus. Si vero fretum tali temperaturæ cadat, vides fore magni momenti. Credo reginam id in gratiam principis Casimiri facturam de quo mihi scripsisti ; sed nolui hoc tempore multa de ea re tractare, cum sciam nostrum ingenium esse nihil celeriter perficere. Quid aliud jam planè dormituriens tibi scribam nisi te a me ut cor meum amari, meque nulli rei magis intentum esse quam ut possim hoc aliquando tibi demonstrare.

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Grivellus meus te salutat. Saluta humiliter meo nomine Comitum et Comitissam Hanaviensem, et scribe mihi quomodo canes quos misi ipsis arrideant. Scripsi ad Lubetium hoc tempore, Banosium, Andream, Anselmum, Metellum egone piger. Oro ut Clusium salutes, et Domino Salvarto significes me multum illi debere ob libellum quem mihi in Gallicam linguam traductum misit, ego cum mihi traderetur fui occupatissimus, sed aliquando hanc illius humanitatem merebor. Domino Glauburgo quoque plurimam salutem dicas, cui ego libenter gratificabor. Vale, charissime Languete. Londini Kalendis Martii, 1578. Tuus Philippus Sidneius.

Ego Belo omnia amica quæ potero officia præstabo, tum ob sua merita tum præcipue ob tuam commendationem.

XXXIV

To Hubert Languet

MI charissime Huberte. Scripsi tibi per Beuterichum nostrum quid tûm mihi in a[nimum] veniret. Hoc tempore D^o. Rogerio hæc ad te dedi, potius ut nullam interm[ittam] occasionem te salutandi, quàm ut ulla hic offeratur occasio vel cogitatio[ne] digna. Ita male satisfacimus Buterichio, ut credam nisi quo min[us] fiat ipsius obstet humanitas, male nos in Germania audituros. Et tamen ut ingenuè et tibi soli dicam non ita constanter visi estis vestras res tractare, cum aliud princeps Aurangius, aliud illustrissimus Casimir[us] viderentur appetere. Unde regina arripuit occasionem defendendi tarditatem suam in exequendis consiliis contra Leycestrensem, Walsinghamum, et ali[os], qui eam vehementius ad agendum persuaserant. Quod maximè d[oleo.] Plessius noster brevi credo hinc discedet, qui nec ea potuit obtinere quæ sanè Christianæ reipublicæ fuissent salutaria. Ego profecto, nisi De[us] potenter resistat videor mihi causam nostram ruentem videre, et aliquid jam Indicum mecum meditor. Regina tibi bene favet, ut spero te brevi intellecturum. Interea me ut soles vehemen[ter] ames velim. Meque omnibus nostris comunibus amicis commendes. Ex aula regia 10^o Martii, 1578. Tuus, Philippus Sidneius.

Swendianum scriptum accepi a Comite Hannaviense, a te nullum hactenus habui. Meum D. Rogerium oro ut in meam gratiam adhuc magis ames.

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XXXV

To Sir Henry Sydney

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lorde and Father,

So strangely and dyversely goes the cource of the worlde by the enterchanginge humors of those that governe it, that though it be most noble to have allwyes one mynde and one constancy, yet can it not be allwaies directed to one pointe; but must needs sometymes alter his cource, accordinge to the force of others changes dryves it. As now in your Lordships case to whom of late I wrote, wishinge your Lordship to returne as soone as conveniently yow mighte, encouraged thereunto, by the assurance, the beste sorte had given me, withe what honorable considerations yowr returne sholde befall: Particularly to yowr lott, it makes me change my style, and wryte to your Lordship, that keepinge still yowr minde in one state of vertuose quietnes, yow will yet frame yowr cource accordinge to them. And as they delay yowr honorable rewardinge, so yow by good meanes to delay yowr returne, till either that ensue, or fitter tyme be for this.

Her Majesties lettres prescribed yow a certaine day I thinke; the day was paste before Pagnam came unto yow, and enjoyned to doe some-thinges, the doinge whereof muste necessarily requyre some longer tyme. Hereuppon yowr Lordship is to wryte back, not as though yow desyred to tarry, but onely shewing that unwillingly yow muste employ som daies thereaboutes; and if it please yow to add, that the Chaunceilours presence shall be requisite; for by him your Lordship shall either have honorabler revocation, or commandement of furdre stay at leaste till Michelmas, which in itselpe shall be a fitter tyme; consideringe, that then yowr tearme comes fully out, so that then yowr enemies can not glory it is their procuringe. In the meane tyme yowr frendes may labour heere to bringe to a better passe, suche yowr reasonable and honorable desyres, which tyme can better bringe forth then speede. Amonges which frendes, before God there is none proceedes either so thoroly or so wysely, as my Lady my mother. For myne owne parte, I have had onely lighte from her. Now restes it in yowr Lordship to way the particularities of yowr owne estate, which

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no man can know so well as yowr selfe; and accordingly to resolve. For myne owne parte (of which mynde yowr beste frendes are heere) this is yowr beste way. At leaste whatsoever yow resolve, I beseeche yow with all speede I may undrestand, and that if it please yow with yowr owne hande; for truly Sir, I muste needes impute it some greate dishonestie of some abowte yow, that there is little writtne from yow, or to yow, that is not perfittly knowne to yowr professed enemies. And thus muche I am very willinge they shoulde know, that I doe wryte it unto yow: And in that quarter, yow may, as I thinke, loke precysely to the savinge of some of those overplussages, or at leaste not to goe any furdre; and then the more tyme passes, the better it will be blowen over. Of my beinge sente to the Queen, being armed with good Accounts and perfitt Reasons for them, &c.

25 Aprill, 1578

XXXVI

To Edward Waterhouse

My good Ned,

Never since yow wente, that ever yow wrote to me, and yet, I have not failed to do some frendely offices for yow heere. How know I that, say you. I can not tell. But I know that no lettres I have receaved frome yow. Thus dothe unkyndenes make me fall to a pointe of kyndenes. Good Nedd, either come or wryte. Let me either see the, heere the, or reede the. Yowr other frendes that know more, will wryte more fully. I, of my selfe, thus muche. Allwaies one, and in one cace. *Me solo exultans totus teres atque rotundus*. Commende me to my Lord President; to the noble Sir Nicholas, whom I beare speciall good will to; to my cosin Harry Harrington, whom I longe to see in helthe; Sir Nicholas Bagnoll; Mr. Agardes Daughter; my cosin Spikman for yowr sake; and whosoever is Maire of Deulin for my sake. And even at his howse when yow thinke good. I bidd yow fare well. From Courte, this 28th Aprill, 1578.

Your very loving frende,

Philippe Sidney.

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XXXVII

To Edmund Molyneux

MR Mollineax

Few woordes are beste. My lettres to my Father have come to the eys of some. Neither can I condemne any but yow for it. If it be so yow have plaide the very knave with me; and so I will make yow know if I have good prooffe of it. But that for so muche as is past. For that is to come, I assure yow before God, that if ever I know yow do so muche as reede any lettre I wryte to my Father, without his commandement, or my consente, I will thruste my Dagger into yow. And truste to it, for I speake it in earnest. In the meane time farwell. From Courte this laste of May 1578.

By me

Philippe Sidney.

XXXVIII

To Robert Sidney

My most deere Brother.

You have thought unkindnes in me, I have not written oftner unto you, and have desired I should write something of myne owne opynion touching travaile you being perswaded my experience therein to be something, which I must needes confesse, but not as you take it, for you thinke my experience of the good things I have learned. But I knowe the onlie experience I have gotten, is to finde howe much indeede I have missed, for want of haveing directed my course to the right end, and by the right meanes.

I thinke you have read Aristotles Ethicks if you have, you knowe it is the begynning, and foundation of all his workes, the good ende which everie man doth & ought to bend his greatest actions, I am sure you have imprinted in your minde, the scope, and marke, you meane by your paines to shoote att, for if you should travayle but to travaile or to saie you have travailed, certainelie you shall prove a Pilgrim to noe Saint. But I presume soe well of you, that though a greate number of us never thought in our selves whie wee went, but onlie of a certaine

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tickling humour to doe as an other man hath done, your purpose is being a Gentleman borne, to furnish your selfe with the knowledge of such thinges, as maie be serviceable to your Countreie, and fitt for your calling which certainelie standes not in the chaunge of ayre, for the warmest sonne makes not a wise man, noe more in learning languages, (although they bee of good serviceable use,) for wordes are but wordes, in what language soever they bee, and much lesse in that all of us come home full of disguisementes, not onlie of our apparrell, but of our countenaunces, as though the creditt of a travayler stood all uppon his outside.

But in the right informing your mynde with those thinges which are most noteable in those places you come to, of which as the one kinde is soe vaine, as I thinke it ere it be long, like the Magnificoes in Italie wee travaylers shalbe made sporte of comedies, soe maie I justlie saie, whoe travailes with the eye of Vlisses doth take one of the most excellent waies of worldlie wisdomes, fer hard sure it is to knowe England, without you knowe it by compareing it with others noe more then a man can knowe the swiftnes of his horse without seeing him well matched, for you that are a Logitian knowe, that as greatnes of it selfe is a quantitie, soe yett the judgment of it, of might, ritches, &c. standes in the predicament of relacion, soe as you cannott tell what the Queene of England is able to doe, defensivelie, or offencivelie, but by through compareing what they are able to doe, with whome shee is to bee matched.

This therefore is one noteable use of travaile, which standes in the mixed and correlative knowledge of thinges, in which kinde come in the knowledge of all leages, betwixt Prince, and Prince, the topograficall descripcion of eache Countreie, howe the one lyes by scituacion to hurte or helpe the other, howe they are to the sea well harboured or not, howe stored with shippes, howe with Revenewe, howe with fortificacions and Garrisons, howe the People warlicklie trayned or kept under, with manie other such condicions which as they confusedlie come into my mynde, soe I for want of leasure sett downe; but these thinges as I said, are those of the first kind which stand in the ballancing of the one thing with the other.

The other kinde of knowledge is of them which stand in the thinges which are of themselves, either simplie good, or simplie

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evill, and soe either for a right instruccion, or a shuning example, of these Homer ment in his verse, *Qui multorum hominum mores cognovit & urbes*, for hee doth not meane *mores*, howe to looke, or putt of ones capp with a new found grace (although trulie behaviour is not to be despised) marrie my heare saie is that the English behaviour is best in England, and the Italian in Italy, but *mores* hee takes for that whereon Morrall Philosophi is soe called, which conteynes the true discerning of mens myndes, both in vertuous passions & vices, and when hee saith *cognovit urbes* (if I be not deceived) hee meanes not to have seene townes, and marked their buildinges, for howses are howses in everie place, they doe but differ *Secundum magus & minus*, but hee intendes the knowing of their religions, pollicies, lawes, bringing upp of their children, disipline both for Warr, and Peace, and such like I take to be of the second kinde, which are ever worthie to be knowne for their owne sakes, as surelie in Turkey (though wee have nothing to doe with them) yett theire disipline in Warr matters *Propter se*, are worthie to be learned. Nay in the kingdome of China which is almost as farr as our Antipodes from us, theire good lawes and customes are to be learned, but to knowe their riches, and power is of little purpose for us, since it cann neither advantage us, or hinder us. But in our neighbour countries both those thinges are to be observed, aswell the latter which consture thinges for themselves, as the former which seekes to knowe both these & their riches &c. which maie be unto us avayleable or otherwise. The countries fittest for both these are those you are goeing into Fraunce above all other most needefull for us to marke, especiallie in the former kinde, next it Spaine & the Lowe Countries then Germany which in my opynion excells all the other as much in the latter consideracion as the other doth it in the former: for neither are verdict of neither for as Germany mee thinkes doth noteable in good lawes, & well administring of Justice, soe yet are wee likewise to consider in it, the manie Princes with whome wee have leauge, the places of trade, and the meane to drawe both soldyers and furniture from thence in time of neede. Soe likewise in Fraunce & Spaine we are principallie to marke, how they stand towards us both in power & inclynacion, soe are they not without good and fitt thinges, even in the generallitie of wisdome, to be knowne, as

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theire Courtes of Parliament their subalterne Jurisdictions & their continewall keepinge of soe manie provinces under them, and by what manner, with the true pointes of Honour, wherein sure they have the openest conceite, wherin if they seeme over curious, it is an easie matter to cutt off, when a man sees the bottome. Flaunders likewise besides the neighbourhood with us, & the annexed considerations therunto, hath diverse thinges to be learned especially their governing their merchauntes, & the lower trades. As for Italy I knowe not what wee have, or can have to doe with them, but to buye their scilkes and wynes, and for other provinces (excepting Venice) whose good lawes, & customes wee can hardly proporcion to our selves, because they are quite of a contrarie goverment, there is little there but tyrannous oppression, & servile yeilding to them, that have little or noc rule over them. And for the men you shall have there, although some in deede be excellentlie lerned, yett are they all given to soe counterfeit lerning, as a man shall learne of them more false groundes of thinges, then in anie place els that I doe knowe for from a tapster upwardes they are all discourers. In fine certaine qualities, as Horsmanshipp, Weapons, Vauting, and such like, are better there then in those other countries, for others more sounde they doe little excell neerer places.

Nowe resteth in my memorie but this point which indeede to you is the cheifest of all others, which is the choyce of what men you are to addict your selfe unto, to learne these thinges, for it is certaine, noe vessell can leave a worsse tast to the licquor it containes, then a wronge teacher infectes an unskillfull hearrer, with that which afterwarde will hardlie out, I will not tell you the absurdities I have heard some travylers tell, I dare sware, from the mouthes of some of their hoastes. Be sure therefore of his knowledge whome you desire to learne, tast him well before you drinke to much of his doctrine, and when you have heard it, trie well what you haue heard, before you hold it for a principle, for one errour is the mother of a thowsand. But you maie saie, howe shall I gett excellent men to take paines to speake with mee, trulie in fewe wordes, either much experience, or much humblenes.

Your assured loveing Brother

Phillipp Sidney.

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XXXIX

To Sir Christopher Hatton

SIR, the greate advauntage which I have, by the singuler goodnes and frendshippe, it pleaseth you to shewe me, which in trewthe I doo, and have a good while, reputed amongst the cheif[es]t ornamentes of my lief and fortune, makes me fynde my self at as muche disadvantage when my hart, longinge to shewe my self gratefull can present nothing which maye be servisable unto you. Butt as I knowe, and have well founde, that you doo esteeme a trewe good will, of some valewe, in that kynde only, can I shewe my self, and assure yowe, that the litell that I am, is and shalbe in all tymes and fortunes, so to be disposed by you, as one, that hath promysed love, and is bounde by deserte to performe it. This is all therefore I can saye, though you loose me, you have me. As for the matter dependinge betwene the Earle of Oxford and me, certaynly, Sir, howe soever I mighte have forgiven hym, I should never have forgiven my self, yf I had layne under so proude an injurye, as he would have laide uppon me, neither can any thinge under the sunne make me repente yt, nor any miserye make me goo one half worde backe frome yt: lett him therefore, as hee will, digest itt: for my parte I thincke, tyeing upp, makes some thinges seeme fercer, then they would bee. Sir, lett me crave still, the contynuaunce of my happines in your favour and frendshippe, and I will ever praye unto God that amonge those I moost honor, I maye ever see you have prosperous causes of contentment. 28. August 1579.

Your honours to be commaunded
even by dutye

Philip Sedney.

XL

To Arthur Atey

My Atey I thanke yow as muche as your love and my gratefullnes requyer. Truly yow do me muche pleasure, which amonge many thinges I lay up in my mynde towards yow. Heere are no news but that all bee well, which God keepe and thee to my honest Atey.

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Fare well and assure yowr selfe I wishe yow exceedingly well.
At Wilton, this 25 Marche. 1580.

Yowr lovinge frende effectually.

Philip Sidnei

To my lovinge frende Mr Arthur
Atey &c. at Court

XLI

To the Earle of Leicester

RIGHTE honorable and singular good Lord. I have now brought home my sister, who is well amended bothe of her paine and disease. For my selfe I assure yowr Lordeshippe uppon my trothe, so full of the colde as one can not heere me speake: whiche is the cawse keepes me yet frome the cowrte since my only service is speeche and that is stopped. As soone as I have gottne any voice I will waite on yowr Lordeshippe if so it please yow. Althoughe it bee contrary to that I have signified to her Majestie of my wante, I dowt not her Majestie will vouchesafe to aske for me, but so longe as she sees a silk dublett uppon me her Highnes will thinke me in good cace. At my departur I desyred Mr Vichamberlaine he wolde tell her Majestie necessity did even banishe me frome the place. And allwaies submitting my selfe to yowr judgement and commandement, I thinke my best, either constantly to waite, or constantly to holde the course of my poverty, for comming and going neither breedes deserte, nor wittnesseth necessity. Yet if so it please yowr Lordeshippe I hope within 3 or 4 daies this colde will bee paste, for now truly I weare a very unpleasante company keeper. My Lorde and my sister do humbly salute yow, and I remaine to do yowr commandement as fur as my lyfe shall enhable me. God preserve yowr Lordeshippe in all hapines. At Clarinton this 2^d of Auguste. 1580

Yowr Lordeshippes most humble
and most obedient

Philip Sidnei

To the right honorable my singular
good Lorde the Earle of Leicester &c

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XLII

To Robert Sidney

My deere brother, for the many yow have receaved, assure your selfe (for it is true) there is nothing I spend so pleaseth me as that which is for yow. If ever I have abilitie yow will finde it, if not, yet shall not any brother living be better beloved then yow of me. I cannot write now to H. White, doe yow excuse me. For his nephew, they are but passions in my father, which wee must beare with reverence, but I am sory he should returne till he had the fruite of his travell, for yow shall never have such a servant as he would prove, use your owne discretion therin. For your countenance I would for no cause have it diminished in Germany ; in Italy your greatest expence must be upon worthi men, and not upon housholding. Looke to your diet (sweete Robin) and hould upp your hart in courage and vertue truly greate part of my comfort is in yow. I know not my selfe what I ment by braverie in yow, so greatly yow may see I condemne yow, be carefull of your selfe and I shall never have cares. I have written to Mr Savell, I wish yow kept still together, he is an excellent man ; and there may if yow list passe good exercises betwixt yow and Mr Nevell there is greate expectation of yow both. For the method of writing Historie, Boden hath written at large, yow may reade him and gather out of many wordes some matter. This I thinke in haste a story is either to be considered as a storie, or as a treatise which besides that addeth many thinges for profite and ornament ; as a story, he is nothing but a narration of thinges done, with the beginings, cawses, and appendences therof, in that kinde your method must be to have *seriem temporum* very exactlie, which the Chronologies of Melanchton, Tarchagnora, Languet, and such other will helpe yow to. Then to consider by that

as yow not your selfe, Zenophon to follow Thucidides, so doth Thucidides follow Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus follow Zenophon. So generally doe the Roman stories follow the Greeke, and the perticuler stories of present Monarchies follow the Roman. In that kinde yow have principally to note the examples of vertue or vice, with their good or evell successes, the establishments or ruines of greate Estates, with

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the causes, the tyme and circumstances of the lawes they write of, the entrings, and endings of warrs, and therein the stratagems against the enemy, and the discipline upon the soldiour, and thus much as a very Historiographer. Besides this the Historian makes himselfe a discourser for profite and an Orator, yea a Poet sometimes for ornament. An Orator in making excellent orations *e re nata* which are to be marked, but marked with the note of rhetoricall remembrances; a Poet in painting forth the effects, the motions, the whisperings of the people, which though in disputation one might say were true, yet who will marke them well shall finde them taste of a poetically vaine, and in that kinde are gallantly to be marked, for though perchance they were not so, yet it is enough they might be so. The last poynt which tendes to teach profite is of a Discourser, which name I give to who soever speakes *non simpliciter de facto, sed de qualitatibus et circumstantiis facti*; and that is it which makes me and many others rather note much with our penn then with our minde, because wee leave all thes discourses to the confused trust of our memory because they being not tyed to the tenor of a question as Philosophers use sometimes plaies the Divine in telling his opinion and reasons in religion, sometimes the Lawyer in shewing the causes, and benefites of lawes, sometimes a Naturall Philosopher in setting downe the causes of any strange thing which the story bindes him to speake of, but most commonly a Morall Philosopher, either in the ethick part when he setteth forth vertues or vices and the natures of Passions, or in the Politick when he doth (as often he doth) meddle sententiouslie with matters of Estate. Againe, sometimes he gives precept of warr both offensive, and defensive, and so lastlie not professing any art, as his matter leades him he deales with all arts which because it carrieth the life of a lively exemple, it is wonderfull what light it gives to the arts themselves, so as the greates Civillians helpe themselves with the discourses of the Historians, so doe Soldiours, and even Philosophers, & Astronomers, but that I wish herein, is this, that when yow reade any such thing, yow straite bring it to his heade, not only of what art, but by your logicall subdivisions, to the next member and parcell of the art. And so as in a table be it wittie word of which Tacitus is full, sentences, of which Livy, or similitudes wherof Plutarch, straite to lay it upp in the right place of his storehouse,

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as either militarie, or more spetiallie defensive militarie, or more perticulerlie, defensive by fortification and so lay it upp. So likewise in politick matters, and such a little table yow may easelie make, wherwith I would have yow ever joyne the historically part, which is only the example of some stratageme, or good counsaile, or such like. This write I to yow in greate hast, of method, without method, but with more leysure & studie (if I doe not finde some booke that satisfies) I will venter to write more largely of it unto yow. Mr Savell will with ease helpe yow to sett downe such a Table of Remembrance to your selfe, and for your sake I perceive he will doe much, and if ever I be able I will deserve it of him, one onely thing as it comes unto my minde lett me remember yow of, that yow consider wherin the Historian excelleth, and that to note, as Dion Nicœus in the searching the seac[rea]ts of Government; Tacitus, in the pithy opening the venome of wickednes, & so of the rest. My time exceedingly short will suffer me to write no more leysurely. Stephen can tell yow who stands with me while I am writing. Now (decre Brother) take delight likewise in the mathematicalls, Mr Savell is excellent in them. I thinke yow understand the sphere, if yow doe, I care little for any more astronomie in yow. Arithmatick, and geometry, I would wish yow well seene in, so as both in matter of nomber and measure yow might have a feeling, and active judgment I would yow did beare the mechanically instruments wherin the Dutch

. I write this to yow as one, that for my selfe have given over the delight in the world but wish to yow as much if not more then to my selfe. So yow can speake and write Latine not barbarously I never require great study in Ciceronianisme the cheife abuse of Oxford, *Qui dum verba sectantur, res ipsas negligunt*. My toyfull booke I will send with Gods helpe by February, at which time yow shall have your mony. And for .200^{li}. a yeare, assure your selfe if the Estate of England remaine yow shall not faile of it, use it to your best profite. My Lord of Leister sendes yow forty pownds as I understand by Stephen, and promiseth he will continue that stipend yearly at the least, then that is above commons, in any case write largely and diligently unto him, for in troth I have good prooffe that he meanes to be every way good unto yow. The odd .30^{li}. shall come with the hundred or els my father and I will jarle. Now

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sweete brother take a delight to keepe and increase your musick, yow will not beleive what a want I finde of it in my melancholie times. At horsemanshipp when yow exercise it reade Grison Claudio, and a booke that is called *La gloria del cavallo*, withall, that yow may joyne the through contemplation of it with the exercise, and so shall yow profite more in a moneth then others in a yeare, and marke the bitting, sadling, and curing of horses. I would by the way your worship would learne a better hand, yow write worse than I, and I write evell enough; once againe have care of your dyet, and consequently of your complexion, remember, *gratior est veniens in pulchro corpore virtus*. Now Sir for newes I reffer my selfe to this bearer, he can tell yow how idlie wee looke on our Naighbours fyres, and nothing is happened notable at home, save only Drakes returne, of which yet I know not the seacreat poyntes, but about the world he hath bene, and rich he is returned. Portugall wee say is lost, and to conclude my eies are almost closed upp, overwatched with tedeous busines. God bless yow (sweete boy) and accomplish the joyfull hope I conceive of yow, once againe commend me to Mr Nevell, Mr Savell, & honest Harry White, and bid him be merry. When yow play at weapons I would have yow gett thick capps & brasers, and play out your play lustilie, for indeed tickes, & daliances are nothing in earnest for the time of the one & the other greatlie differs, and use aswell the blow, as the thrust, it is good in it selfe, & besides exerciseth your breath and strength, and will make yow a strong man at the Tournei and Barriers. First in any case practize the single sword, & then with the dagger, lett no day passe without an hower or two such exercise the rest studie, or conferr diligentlie, & so shall yow come home to my comfort and credit. Lord how I have babled, once againe farewell deerest brother.

At Lesterhouse this 18. of October. 1580.

Your most loving and carefull brother

Philip Sidney.

CORRESPONDENCE.

XLIII

To Christophe Plantin

LES mappes de lortelius en la plus nouvelle édition.

Le livre en flaman descriptant les havres de leurope

La description des villes et forteresses

Je vous prie Mons. Plantin que je puisse avoir ces livres et ne faudray point de vous les rembourser et en récompense demeure

Vostre affectionné ami pour vous faire plaisir et service

Ph. Sidney.

XLIV

To Jean Hotman

MONSIEUR. J'ay receu vos lettres, et vous remercie infiniment pour m'avoir este liberall de vostre cognoissance et amitié. Je vous assure que je la tiens treschere, tant pour vostre propre vertu que pour lamour de cest excellent personnage vostre pere. Je vous en donnerai le preuve quand il vous plaira m'employer, ce pendant je prierai Dieu Monsieur vous donner en santé longue et heureuse vie. De la court ce 12^{me} de Fevrier. 1580[-1]

Vostre tres affectionné ami pour vous faire plaisir et service

Ph. Sidnei.

A Monsieur

Monsieur Hotman

En Oxford

XLV

To Lady Kytson

MADAME,

I HAVE, according to your Ladyship's comandment, by lettre and by my cousin Grivel, delivered unto me, dealt with Mr. Secretarie, for his favour toward Sir Thomas Cornwallies. Truly, Madam, hitherunto I can obtain no furdre than this, that there is a present intention of a general mitigation, to be used in respect of recusants ; so as he may not, he saith, prevent

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her Majesties dealing therein, in any particular case, and would not put himself in subjection to the tongues of such kind of men with whom he should deal, but assures me that there is ment a speedy easing of the greatnes of your burdne. I assure yow, Madam, upon my faithe, I dealt carefully and earnestlie, owing a particular duti unto Sir Thomas, which I will never fail to shewe to my uttermost, and if otherwise have been thought, I have been mistaken, and if said, the more wronged. But do your Ladyship hold your good opinion of me, and I will deserve it, with bearing you much honor, as your favourable courtesies toward me, and long acquaintance bind me, and so I take my leave, praying to God for your long and happy life. At Court, this 28th of March, 1581.

Your Ladyship's fellow and frend,
to do you service,
Ph. Sidnei.

To his singular good Lady the
Lady Kytson

XLVI

To Edmund Molyneux

I PRAY yow, for my sake, yow will not make yowr self an instrument to crosse my Cosin Fowkes tytle in any part, or construction of his Letters Patentes. It will turne to other boddies good, and to hurte him willingly weare a foolish discourtesy. I pray yow, as yow make accownt of me, lett me be sure yow will deale heerein according to my request, and so I leave yow to God. At Bainards Castell, this 10th of Aprill, 1581.

Your loving Frend,
Philipp Sidney.

XLVII

To Sir Christopher Hatton

SIR, the delaye of this Prynces departure is so longe, as trulie I growe very weery of it, havinge divers busynesses of myne owne and my fathers, that some thinge importe me, and to deale playnly with you beinge growen almost to the bottome of my

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pursse: Therefore your honour, shall doo me a singuler favour, if you can finde meanes, to send for me awaye, the kinge him self beinge desirous I should be at the Court, to remember him unto her Majestie, wheare I had ben er this tyme, butt beinge sent hether by her Highnes, I durst not depart without her espetiall revocation and commandment. The Quene meanes, I thinck, that I should goo over with hym, which at this present mighte hinder me greatlie, and nothing availe the kinge for any service, I should be able to doo him. I finde by hym, hee will see all his shippes oute of Thames before hee will remove: They ar all wynde bounde, and the other that came hether, the winde beeing straynable att the easte, hath dryven them toward the Ile of Wight, beeing no safe harbour heere to receave them: so that hee is constrayned to make the longer aboode, yf it weere but to be waffed over. I beeseche you Sir, doo me this favor, for which, I can promise nothings, seying all is yours already. At Dover the 26 of September 1581.

Your honors humbly at commaundment.

P. Sidney

XLVIII

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lorde. I was to have waited on your Lordshippe at Cecill Howse, but there undrestandinge your Lordshippe was gone towards Tibols, I thought it no reason to trouble your Lordshippe there, but am bold onely with these few lines to remember me to your Lordshippes goodnes. Yesterdai Her Majestie at my taking my leave, said againe that I came upp againe she woold take some ordre for me. I told her Majestie I woold beseech your Lordshippe to have care of me therein. Her Majestie seemd then to like better of some present manner of relief then the expecting the office. Truly Sir so do I to, but beinge holy out of comfort I rather chose to have some tokne that my frendes might see I had not utterly lost my time. So then do I leave it to your Lordshippes good favowr towards me. My suit is for a 100^{li} a yeere in impropriations, if not the one then the other, if neither, yet her Majesties speedi answer, will both in respect of usury and other combres be much better to me then delay, which I am no bolder to desyre of your

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Lordeshippe then I will [be] reddy to deserve it with my uttermost power when so mean a matter mai be commanded by yow. And so praiing for yowr long and helthfull life I humbly take my leave. At London. This 10th of October 1581.

Yowr Lordeshippes humbly at
commandement

Philip Sidnei

[To the r]ight Honorable [my sing]ular
good Lorde [the Lorde] Burlei Lorde
Hy Threasorer of England.

XLIX

To Sir Christopher Hatton

RIGHT honorable, I have spoken with my father towching Poorescourt, which M^r Denny sewes for: hee tells me assuredly, that it is most necessary, some Englishe gentilman should have it: beyng a place of greate ymportauce, and fallen to her Majestie by the rebellione of the owner. As for him, that seweth for it in the Court, hee is in dedde a good honest fellowe, accordinge to the broode of that natione: butt beeing a basterd, he hath no lawe to recover it, & he is much to weeke to keepe it: so that, your honor may doo well, if it please you, to followe this good turne for M^r Denny, who can, & will indevor to deserve it of her Majestie, & doo you service for yt, in all faithfull good will, when so ever you shall commaunde him: and so I humbly take my leave, and rest at your devotione. From the Court the 17 of October 1581.

Your honors humbly at comaundment
as youe have bounde me.

P. S.

L

To Sir Christopher Hatton

SIR, I doo heere sende you my booke readye drawen and prepared for her Majesties signature, in suche order as it should be: whiche I humbly beseeche you, to gett signed accordinglie, with as muche speede as you maye convenientlie: for the

CORRESPONDENCE.

thinge, of it self, in many respectes, requyreth haste, and I finde my present case more pitied nowe, then perchaunce it would be hereafter, when happely, resolutione either waye wilbe hard to gett, and make my suite the more tedious. Mr Popham thought, it would be littell or nothinge worthe unto me, because so many, have often tymes so frutelesly laboured in it : and this, is the generall opinione of all men, which I hope will make it have the easier passage : but in deede, I am assured, the thinge is of good valewe, and therefore, if it shall please youe to passe any thinge in my booke, you shall commaunde yt, as your owne, for asmuche or as litell, as your self shall resolve of : it will doo mee no hurte, that seeke only to be delyvered oute of this comber of debtes ; and if it may doo your honor pleasure, in any thinge of importance, I shalbe hartely glad of it. I passe nothinge by any other instrument, then by your owne servant and it shall greatly contente me, that the suite is of suche a nature, as I maye have meanes at the lest, to shewe how ready I am to requite some parte of your favours towards me. : yf it be not done, before this day sevensnight, I shalbe in greate feare of it : for beinge once knowen, it wilbe suerlie, crost, and perhappes the tyme will not be so good as it is at this presente, which of all other thinges, putteth me in greatest confidence of good succes with the helpe of your honorable favour. Yf you finde, you can not prevaile, I beseeche you lett me knowe it as sone as maye be, for I will even shamelesly once in my lief, bringe it her majestie my self : neede obayes no lawe, and forgetts blusshinge : nevertheles, I shalbe much the more happie, if it please you in deede to bynde me for ever by helpinge me in these combers : and so prayinge for your good successe in everye thinge, and in this espetially (my greatest hope of com-forte,) I humbly take my leave. From Baynardes Castell the XIIIth of November. 1581.

Your honors humbly at
commaundment.

P: Sidney

CORRESPONDENCE.

LI

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable Sir. The contrei afoordes no other stuff for lettres but humble salutations, which in deed humbli and hartily I send to yowr self my good Ladi and my exceeding like to be good frend. I will be bold to add heerwith the beseeching yow to favor this bearer, that he mai have som consideration for the packet he brought, becawse belonging to my brother Robert, a yonger brother of so yongeli a fortunéd famili as the Sidneis, I am sure at least have very vehement conjectures that he is more stored with discowrces then monci. I will no furdre trouble yowr Honor, but take my leave and prai for yow. At Wilton. This 17. of December. [1581]

Your Honors humbli at commaundement

Philip Sidnei

To the right honorable Sir Francis
Wallsingham principall Secretari and
of the most honorable Prive Cowncell

LII

To Sir Christopher Hatton

RIGHT honorable I must ever contynewe to thancke you, because you alwayes contynewe to bynde me, and for that I have no other meane to acknowledge the bande, butt my humble thanckes: some of my frendes counsell me to stande upon her majesties offer, towching the forfeiture of papistes goodes: truly, Sir, I knowe nott how to be more suer of her highnes in that, then I thought my self in this. Butt though I were, in trewthe, it goeth against my harte, to prevent a Princes mercie: my necessitie is greate: I beseeche you vouchesaf me your honorable care and good advise: you shall hould a hart from fallinge, that shalbe ever yors. And so I humbly take my leave: Att Salisbury the 18 of December 1581.

Your honors humbly at commaundement

P: Sidney

CORRESPONDENCE.

LIII

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. I most humbly thank your Lordshippe for the continuall care it pleaseth you to have of me which I proove many waies, and even as much for this late lettre wherein your Lordshippe freely leaves the comming to my self, who indeed Sir am exceeding loth, to deck mi misfortune in any more disgraces, besydes your Lordshippe knows the time was to short to provide any thing and to come unprovdyed will rather breed contempt then favowr, where thinges past are so soon forgottne. So that beseeching your Lordshippe well to allow of this my determination, and to continew your Lordshippes care for me when you may see it mai prevaile, I humbly take my leave and daily prai for you. At Salsbury. This 26th of December 1581

Your Lordshippes most humble
and obedient

Philip Sidnei

I thought good to write somthing largeli to M^r Vichamberlain of my discomfortes.

[To the] right honorable [my]
[singu]lar good Lord [the E]arle of Lester &c.

LIV

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord I know not truly what to sai since her Majestie is pleased so to answer, for as well mai her Majestie refuse the matter of the papistes and then have I both shame and skorne. I beseech your Lordshippe resolve of it with M^r Vichamberlain, for I find my self in deed much bownd unto him, and then if your Lordshippe determin of it that I may know it before your Lordshippe take furdre paines in it. But this I beseech your Lordshippe without it bee 3000^{li} never to troble your self in it, for my cace is not so desperate, that I wouold gett clamor for less. Truly I lyke not their persons and much worse their religions, but I think my fortune very hard that my reward must be built uppon other mens punishmentes. Well my Lord your Lordshippe made me a cowrtier do you thinke of it as seemes best unto you.

CORRESPONDENCE.

One thing truli hath trobled me. Sir John Hubande sends me worde that he shoold undrestand by yowr Lordeshippe that I shoold think unkindenes in him, and that I shoold wryte so to yowr Lordeshippe. For the thought I protest unto yowr Lordeshippe I was cleer of as my Lord of Pembroke and my father can well tell to both whome I acknowledged my self greatly beholding to him. My lettres I am sure I ment shoold name him in no other sort then this. Yowr Lordeshippe wrate to me that some of them that wear my sollicitours did rather by their diligence hindre then helpe me, although their desire and goodwill was great. I told yowr Lordeshippe I employed none but Sir John Huband and an other to yowr Lordeshippe marry that I thought yowr Lordeshippe ment by Fowk Grivell. If any other wordes wear but to this purpose touching Sir Jhon Huband, as I shall much condemn my remembrance, so if they weare, I assure yowr Lordeshippe thei weare not ment when thei weare writtne, but belike my mynd was very much astrai. I woold not deny my conceitt if I had it, but truly Sir I am so furr from it that I love him and repute my self beholding unto him, and I woold not be ungratefull I beseech yowr Lordeshippe satisfy him in it. And so I humbly prai for yowr Lordeshippes long life. At Salsburi this 28th of December. [1581]

Yowr Lordeshippes most humble and obedient

Ph. Sidnei

[To the ri]ght hono[rable] my
singular [good Lor]d, the Earl of Lester

LV

To Edmund Molyneux

MOLLINEAUX. I pray thee write to me diligently. I woold yow came down your self. Solicitt my Lord Threasorer and Mr Vichamberlain for my beeing of the cownceill. I woold fain bring in my cosin Conningesby if it wear possible yow shall do me much pleasur to labour it. Farewell, even very well for so I wish it. At Hereford. This 23th of Juli 1582

Your loving frend.

Philip Sidnei

To my very
good frend Mr
Edmond Mullineaux

CORRESPONDENCE.

LVI

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. I came up hoping to have bene my self a deliverer of the enclosed Lettres, and so to have laid my fathers mynd and mattres in yowr Lordeshippes hand as on whose advyce and direction he dependeth, but finding heer the loss yowr Lordeshippe hath of late had it made me both at first delai the sending and now the bringing, least becaws we weare deer frendes and companions together my sight might stur som greef unto yowr Lordeshippe. Yowr Lordeshippe will vouchsafe at yowr leisure to reed them, and command me when yow will have me attend yowr Lordeshippe and I beseech yowr Lordeshippe to hold for assured that the family of my father doth and will hold yowr Lordeshippe as a patron unto them. So praiing for yowr long and blessed life I humbli take my leave. At Cowrt. This 14th of November. 1582.

Yowr Lordeshippes humbly at
commandment

Philip Sidnei

To the right honorable
my singular good Lord.
The Lord Hy Threasorer of
England &c.

LVII

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. I have from my childhod ben much bownd to yowr Lordeshippe which as the meanenes of my fortune keepes me from hability to requite, so gives it me daily caws to make the bond greater, by seeking and using yowr favor towards me. The Queen, at my Lord of Warwicks request, hath bene moved to joine me in his office of ordinance, and, as I learne, her Majestie yeeldes gracious heering unto it. My suit is yowr Lordeshippe will favowr and furdre it which I truly affirme unto yowr Lordeshippe, I much more

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desyre for the beeing busied in a thing of som serviseable experience, then for any other commodity, which I think is but small, that can arise of it. I conclude yowr Lordeshippes troble with this; that I have no reason to be thus bold with yowr Lordeshippe but the presuming of yowr honorable goodwill towards me, which I can not deserve, but I can and will greatly esteem.

I humbly take my leave, and pray for yowr long and prosperows lyfe. At Cowrt. This 27th of January. 1582[-3]

Yowr Lordeshippes most humbli at
commandment

Philip Sidn[ei]

[To the r]ight honorable [my sin]gular good
Lord [the] Lord Threasorer of England &c

LVIII

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. Without carriing with me any furdre reason of this boldnes, then yowr welknown goodnes [unto] me, I humbly crave of yowr Lordeshippe yowr good word to her Majestie, for the confirming that grawnt she once made unto me, of joining me pattent with my Lord of Warwik: whose desyre is that it shoold be so. The larger discoursing heerof I will omitt, as superfluous to yowr wisdom, neither will I use more plenty of wordes, till God make me hable to print them in som serviceable effect towards yowr Lordeshippe. In the mean tyme I will prai for yowr long and prosperows life, and so humbli take my leave. At Ramsbury. This 20th of Juli 1583.

Yowr Lordeshippes most humbli at
commandment.

Philip Sidnei

[To] the right honorable [my sin]gular good
Lord [the] Lord Threasorer of England. &c.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LIX

To the Earl of Rutland

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. Your Lordeshippe was gone owt of town ere I was aware, or els I had done the duty which I have profest and will observe to yowr Lordeshippe while I live. Her Majestie is well, but trobled with these suspicions which aryse of som ill mynded subjectes towards her. My Lord of Northumberland I hope will discharge him self well of those doutes conceived of him. He is yet kept in his hows, but for ought I can learn no matter of moment laid unto him. The consideration of removing the Scottish queen doth still continew, and I think my Lord of Shrewsbury doth shortly com up. The Embassadours of Spain and Frawnce be noted for great practisers and truli my Lord this is the som of the most important news that I can send yow. And this shall be the ende that I honowr yow to do yow what service I can. At Walsingham hows. This 20th of December. 1583.

Your Lordeshippes humble and loving poor kinsman

Ph. Sidnei

[To] the right honorable [my]
[si]ngular good Lord [the] Earl of
Rutland.

LX

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable Sir. This bearer is the same captain Goh for whome I have dyvers tymes been an humble suiter unto yow, and whom at my parting yow wished I shoold bid him complain of yow to the queen. I am sure my cosin my Ladi Cheek condemnes me for negligent soliciting of yow, but it is no reason so poor a man as I shoold bear the fault, it must bee between the queen and yow, and indeed Sir the gentleman deserves exceeding well and his suites are under the degree of reasonable. I will trouble yow no furdre but with my praiser for your long and happy life. This 6. of March. 1583[-4].

Your humble son

Philip Sidnei

To the right honorable Sir Francis Walsingham knight principal Secretari, and of the most honorable Privei Cownceill.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXI

To William Temple

Good Mr Temple. I have receaved both yowr book and letter, and think my self greatly beholding unto yow for them. I greatly desyre to know yow better, I mean by sight, for els yowr wrytings make yow as well known as my knowledg ever reach unto, and this assure yourself Mr Temple that whyle I live yow shall have me reddey to make known by my best power that I bear yow good will, and greatly esteem those thinges I conceave in yow. When yow com to London or Court I prai yow lett me see yow, mean whyle use me boldli : for I am beholding. God keep yow well. At Court this 23th of Mai 1584

Your loving frend
Philip Sidnei

To my assured good frend
Mr William Temple

LXII

To Sir Edward Stafford

SIR

The caws of my sending at this tyme, this bearer Mr. Burnam will tell yow. Onely lett me salute yow in the kyndest manner that one nere frend can do an other.

I woold gladli know how yow and your noble Lady do, and what yow do in this absence of the Kinge.

We are heer all Solito. Me thinkes yow shoold do well to begyn betymes to demand something of her Majesti as might be found fitt for yow. And lett Folkes chafe as well when yow ask, as when yow do not. Her Majesti seemes affected to deal in the Low Contrey matters, but I think nothing will come of it. We are haulf perswaded to enter into the journey of Sir Humphry Gilbert very eagerli; whereunto your Mr. Hackluit hath served for a very good Trumpet.

I can wryte no more, but that I pray for your long and happy life, and so commit yow both to the Giver of it. At Court this 21th of Juli 1584.

Yours assuredli
Philip Sidney.

To the right honorable Edward Stafford Knight, Embassadour for her Majestie in the Court of France.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXIII

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my very good lord. I will not fail on monday morning to wait at the Towr for the performance of her Majesties commandment therein. Yowr Lordeshippe in the postscript wrytes of her Majesties beeing enformed of great wantes and faultes in the office wherewith her Majesty seemeth to charge yowr Lordeshippe for lack of reformation more then your Lordeshippe doth deserv. For my part I have ever so conceived, but becaus your Lordeshippe wrytes it particularly to me who of that office am drivn to have somtymes speech with her Majesty, I desyre for truth sake especialli to satisfy yowr Lordeshippe if perhappes yowr Lordeshippe conceav ani dowl of me therein, in deed having in my speech not once gone beyond these limitts, to acknowledg as in honesty I could not deny, the present poverty of her Majesties store, and therein to excuse my Lord of Warwik as in conscience I might and in duti ought to do, without furdre aggravating ani thing against ani man living, for I can not having not been acquainted with the proceedinges. And so hoping your Lordeshippe will so conceav of it I humbli take my leav. At Court. This 15th of Mai. 1585.

Yowr Lordeshippes humbli at
commandment

Ph. Sidnei

her Majesty did not once name your Lordeshippe nor any belonging to the office but Sir William Pelham, who her Majesty said did lai all the fault uppon my Lord of Warwikes Deputy, whereuppon I onely answered that the money neither my Lord nor ani of his had ever delt with.

[To the] right honorable [my very] good Lord. The Lord Hy Threasorer of England. &c.

LXIV

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I do humbli beseech yow that it will pleas yow to recommend Mr John Peitons bill to Mr Nikasius in som earnest manner becaus it importes him much and he is one

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whome from my chyldhod I have had great caws to love. The matter as it seemes requites som speed and therefore I am the bolder to trouble yow heerin which I conclude for my harti praiers for your long and happi lyfe. At Cowrt. This 16th of Mai 1585.

Your humble son
Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable, Sir Frawncis
Walsingam principal Secretary, &c.

LXV

To Queen Elizabeth

MOST gracious sovereign.

This rude peece of paper shall presume becaws of your Majesties commandement, most humbly to present such a cypher as little leysure could afoord me. If there come any matter to my knowledg the importance whereof shall deserv to be so masked I will not fail (since yowr pleasure is my onely boldnes) to your own handes to recommend it. In the mean tyme I beseech yowr Majesty will vouchsafe legibly to reed my hart in the course of my life, and though it self bee but of a mean worth, yet to esteem it lyke a poor hows well sett. I most lowly kis yowr handes and prai to God yowr enemies mai then onely have peace when thei are weery of knowing your force. At Gravesend this 10th of November [1585].

Your Majesties most humble servant
Ph. Sidnei

To the Queenes most
Excellent Majesty

LXVI

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. Uppon Thursdai we came into this town drivn to land at Ramekins becaws the wynd began to ryse in such sort as our masters durst not anker befor[e] the town, and from thence came with as durty a waulk as ever poor governor entred his charge withall. I fynd the people very glad of me, and promis my self as much surety in

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keeping this town as popular goodwill gottne by light hopes and by a as slight conceites mai breed me, for indeed the garrison is far to weak to command by authority, which is pittie for how great a jew[el] this is to the crown of England and the Queenes safety I need not wryte it to your Lordeshippe who knows it so well, yet I must neede[s] sai the better I know it the more I fynd the preciowsnes of it. I have sent to Mr Norreis for my cosin Scots company for Coronel Morgans and my brothers, (which I mean to putt in the Ramekins) but I dout I shall but change and not encrease the enseignes by any more then myne own company, for fear of breeding jealousies in this people which is carried more by shews then substance, and therefore the wai must bee rather to encrease the numbers of men in each company then the companies and that mai be done easily inough, withe their good lyking, but I mean to innovat as little as mai be till your Lordeshippes coming which is heer longed for as Messias is of the Jews, but indeed most necessary it is that your Lordeshippe make great speed to reform both the Dutch and English abuses. I am more and more perswaded that with that proportion which her Majesty alloweth the contrei is fully hable to maintain the wars if what thei do be well ordred and not abused as it is by the States, and that thei look for at your Lordeshippes handes, it beeing str[ange] that the people shew them selves far more carefull then the governors in all thinges touching the publikk. The taking of the sconses by Mr Norris was of good moment, but now his lying before Numeghen is greatly feared will both wast his men (besydes the danger of the enemy who very strongli marchet[h] that wai) and little prevail there beeing a great riv[er] between him and the citti, but the great sufficiency of the gentleman mai overwai other conjectures.

Mr Edward Norrice deliverd the companies heer unto me whome he had very well and souldierly govern[d] but the companies indeed very sikkly and miserable. Good my Lord hast awai, if yow do come, for all thinges considered, I had rather yow came [not] at all then came not quikkli, for oneli by yo[ur] own presence those cources mai be stopped whic[h] if they run on wil be past remedy. Heer is Aldegond a man greatli suspected but by no man charged. He lives restrained to his hows, and for ought I can fynd deales wit[h] nothing oneli desyring

CORRESPONDENCE.

to have his caw[s] holy referred to your Lordeshippe and therefore with [the] best heed I can to his proceedings, I will leav hi[m] to his cleering or condemning when your Lordeshippe sha[ll] heer him. I think truli if my coming ha[d] been longer delaied som alteration woold ha[ve] followed, for the truth is the people is weery [of] war, and if they do not sec such a cource takne as mai be lykeli to defend them the[y] wil in a suddain give over the caws. Thei h[ave] newli made Count Morrice governour of Hola[nd] and Zealand which oneli grew by the delaies of your Lordeshippes comming, but I can not perceav a[ny] meaning of either diminishing or crossing your Lordeshippes authority, but rather that the Count meanes holy to depend uppon your Lordeshippes authority.

With 3000^l charges, I coold fynd meanes so to lodg[e] my self and souldiers in this town as woold in an extremity command it where now we are at their misericord[rd].

[The] Enemy threatnes dyvers places as Ostend Sluse Bergen and Bomel, but yet we have no certain news what he will attempt, but what so ever it be there is great lykelihod he will endanger it the souldiers are so evill paied and provyded of every thing that is necessary. I have delt earnestli with the States of Zealand for the releef of Ostend but yet can obtain nothing but delaies.

To conclude all will be lost if government bee not presently used. Mr Davison is heer very carefull in her Majesties cawses, and in your Lordeshippes he takes great paines therein and goes to great charges, for it. I am yet so new heer that I can not wryte so important matters as perhaps heerafter I shall, and therefore I will not any furdre tryflingli trouble yowr Lordeshippe but humbli leav yow to the blessed protection of the Almighti. At Flushing. This 22th of November 1585.

Yowr Lordeshippes most humble and

obedient newew

Philip Sidnei

[M]^r Edward Norrice as [li]kewise his brother put great [h]ope in your Lordeshippe which I have [t]hought good to nourishe becaws [I] think it fitt for your Lordeshippes [s]ervice, Mr Edward woold faine [h]ave charge of horses and for that [c]aws will seek to erect a company heer.

[I] am beholding to this bearer Captain Fenton.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXVII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. This is a burgess of Flushing who now begins to take the benefitt of her Majesties grawnt unto them which in her Majesties name I have assured them of namely that thei shoold be as custom free as English born subjectes, for such be the wordes of the enstrutions. I humbli beseech yow to give ordre that both he and all such that come with lyke certificat from me mai be well used for els it wear such a blow to my credditt as I shoold never recover. And so alwaies recommending my self to yowr care my principal trust, I humbli take my leav. At Flushing. This 23th of November 1585.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

[To the] right honorable [Sir Fra]wncis
Walsingham knight principal Secretary

LXVIII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. This poor man hath been miserabli spoild as by the attestation sent unto yow by the Embassadour yow mai perceav, there needes must be sharp punishment used in such lyke caces or els these men will take an evill tast of owr government.

I wryte to your Honor at large by an other and therefore in these I will onely prai for yowr long and happy lyfe. At Flushing. This 27th of November 1585.

Yowr humble son

Ph. Sidnei.

To the right honorable Sir Frawncis
Walsingham [knight] principal
Secretary.

LXIX

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I have takne up three hundred powndes of Hans Barnard at usance who very frendli hath used me in it.

Becaws yow give me leav to be thus bold I humbli beseech

CORRESPONDENCE.

yow the dai mai be observed that I mai preserv my creddit in these partes, and I dowt not by Gods grace to keep my self within my bowndes and yet to proceed honorabli.

And so I humbli take my leav p[rai]ing for yowr long and happy lyfe.

At Middelbourg. This .1. of December 1585.

Yowr humble son

Philip Sidnei

To the right honorable Sir Francis
Walsingham knight principal Secretary.

LXX

To William Davison

SIR. By the inclosed yow mai perceav what my request was and what the generals answer. I desyred Coronal Morgans regiment might be brought to som part heeraboutes, becaws thei might be refreshed before heeing receaved into the town, yow see what reason is made against it, but the Count Hollok fyndes my request reasonable and accordingly hath writtne to the States, with whome I prai yow for my sake in good sort deal for it for I perceav I shall be drivn to this extremity either to keep these still or to bring them in very miserabli, besydes if those men, wear once in these quarters I shoold have ocasion to do service, and wouold not be resty when I wear requyred in som tyme of need, and for any abuse of the contrei I wil take it uppon me. I think Captain Huntlei goes to dai to Middelbourg I prai God the general use him well.

The Threasorer takes a strange cowrce. Mr Morgan assures me he hath receaved yet but 1200 gildrenes of .3. monthes. Truli since the kynd cowrce is not accepted yow shall do well according to the nature of your office to deal thorowli in it, and for my part, I will stick to yow in it, and each thing els and prai for your happy lyfe. At Flushing. This 7th of December. [1585]

Your loving cosin and frend

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable her Majesties
Embassadour in the Low Contreis.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXXI

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. When I have better satisfied my self of knowing somthing then will I wryte to your Lordeshippe what I know, in the mea[ne] tyme I will onely wish for your son[nes] comming over assuring your Lordeshippe that it is a government not to be thought smalli of if it pleas her Majesty to go forward with the action. For my part, I am in the midst of the worst humourd people, but whyle thei hope of her Majesties taking their part so long I comfort my self with opinion that thei will continew constant, but when that begins to fail it is tyme that both the garrisons wear better repl[e]nished.

I will not furdre trouble your Lordeshippe but with my praier for yowr long and prosperows lyfe. At Middelburg. This 11th of December. 1585.

Your Lordeshippes humbli at commandment

Ph. Sidnei

[To the] right honorable [my sin]gular good
Lord The Lord Hy Threasorer of England

LXXII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I have receaved som lettres from yow, most of them in recommending the bearers which shall bee as well performed as I can. Turner I hope will serv my turn well.

My company I look and long for, and am sorry the levy is not made of the hole number of 200 for we want supply of men exceedingli, and although I had not kept them all in myne own band yet might I very well have helpt my other companies with them, and therefore if it mai yet be redrest I humbli beseech yow lett it.

As concerning vittuailers for ought I can yet perceav I mai better furnish my self either heer or in England then by

CORRESPONDENCE.

tying my self to any one, and for Brown and Bruin I assure yow Sir they do as yet but badli satisfy the souldiours, and in my opinion are mereli hurtfull, after a Gomorrha fashion by meanes of frendship of the officers forcing the poor men to take it deerer then heer they might provyde them selves. Great abuses have been heer which I hope now my Lord of Lester will reform, a very evill turn it is that Sir William Pellam and Mr Killigrew cum not with him. For as for Doctor Clerk he is of those great clerkes that are not alwaies the wysest and so my Lord now to late fyndes him, and indeed the beginnings heer are so intricate both in matters martiall and politik that if thei come not before ordres be sett down thei will come to far les purpose. Mr Davison doth him good service heer I woold he might be suffred to remain heer a month or two longer. The Threasorer heer paies our Zealand souldiers in Zealand money which is .5. in the 100. loss to the poor sowldiers who God knows want no such hindrances beeing scarce hable to keep lyfe with their entier pay, if the commodity thereof be truly answered the Queen yet truly is it but a poor encrease to her Majesty considering what loss it is to the miserable souldier, but if privat lucre be made it hath to hurtfull a proportion to other such abuses heer. For my self I am in a garrison as much hable to command Flushing as the Towr is to answer for London, and for ought I can yet learn it is hardli to be redrest, for the articles intend that there must be fyve thowsand kept for the defence of the contrei besydes the garrisons, so as out of them without som ado thei mai be hardli driven. I mean truli if I can not have it helpt heer to wryte a protestation thereof both to her Majesty and the Lordes of the Cownceill as a thing that I can no wai take uppon me to answer if I be not encreast by at the least 400 men more then yet I have. I woold gladli know what my old frend the Baron of Ansparg did in England, for he landed just when I embarked. Coronal Morgan whom I fynd indeed a sufficient man in government humbly beseecheth yow for Gods sake that whereas his brother is dead in her Majesties service, who was deepli bownd for him lykewise serving her Majesty ; and that his son and heir yowr servant is now also with Sir Francis Drake that one Cooper to whome Edward Morgan was bownd for his brother mai not be suffred to take advantage by extentes or otherwise of his landes till som

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reasonable end mai be made for him. I know yow favor your servant for the yong gentleman deserves it, and it now standes uppon his utter undoing. And lett me add my humble request that yow will deal carefulli in it, if there be a general commandment givn that none trouble his landes till the yong gentleman return I think it will be a very good cource. Burnam is come to me whome I long longed for, and fynd my self much steeded by him, I humbli beseech yow to end the matter for him which yow promist him for he hath and wil deserv it besydes yowr promis.

Yow told me Sir I shoold be free of excises for my own hows and have access to the town assemblie as an assistant, but as yet I fynd neither, they affirming that none but the general and the Earles that come with him have to enjoy that priviledg. My Lord of Leicester wil needes have me with him to help his settling, I leav the best ordre I can, having great good assistance of Mr Burlace whome I beseech yow comfort with som lettre. I am solicited to desyre the dispatch of the salt suit which is affirmed wil be worth fyve hundred markes a yeer to me but by the wai for Brown even now I receaved lettres and beer .12 ton from him, with lettres to Griffin that it was my Lordes pleasure he shold serv me, but I have refused it and can assure yow Sir that I am better served by the one haulf by my mans provision now judg yow Sir how poor men are delt with. I must ever remember yow for poor Steven yow know Sir it toucheth my creddit to have my man so long a prisoner, if by my industry it mai be helped, but I leav that and my self to your good care and favowr, hoping thereon as greatly as indeed I want his service. I will now end with my most humble commendacions to my best mother and my praiser for yowr long and happy lyves. At Middelbourg. This 14th of December. 1585.

Your humble Son.

Philip Sidnei

[To the] right honorable [Sir Fraw]ncis
Walsingham [knight,] Principal
Secretary

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXXIII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honourable, where this bearer Mr Cromwell (having here well deserved, and verie comendable behaved him selfe) requested my Lettres unto your Honour for the procuring to furnish him againe with souldiours, because manie of his men, be dead, and some sick not able to serve the cawse therof attributed to the noysom aire of the place, and not to anie want of regard in him, I beseeche your Honour therefore to give him your good countenance and harken to his request, and to take order for his dispatche, as convenientlie as maie be, the rather at my instance, and I praie your Honour give me leave to referre the relacjon of his desire to him selfe, and so I humble take my leave this xiiiith of December 1585

Your Honours most humble Sonne

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honourable Sir
Francis Walsingham knight
hir majesties principall Secretary.
At the Courte.

LXXIV

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. Monsieur Gelee, having occasion to goe into England, and desirous to be made knowen unto you, he being my host in Flusshing, and one of good reckoning among the inhabitantes there I am the rather moved to write that it maie please your Honor so to use hym, that he maie retourne well satisfied and contentid with his entretainment, wherein as in the like towards other of suche account it can not chuse, but procuer the better usage of us and ours here. And so with my commendacions I end. Middlebought this xvth, of December 1585.

Your humble Son

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable Sir Frauncis Walsingham knight,
Principall Secretaire unto the Quenes Majestie and one of
her highnes privie Counsell yeve thies.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXXV

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. This gentleman had the charge of Flushing till I came, where in trothe I must needes affirm I found no one greef grown between ani of them and ani burgess, which I prai yow Sir acknowledg unto him becaws I perceav he especially relies uppon your good opinion and favowr. He is very desyrows to be employed in service this wai and most of horsmen which if it might be obtained he woold employ him self with great diligence and care in it and indeed he proffits in the understanding of this art very much. And so having no more at this tyme I humbli take my leav praiing for your long and happy lyfe. At Middlebourg this 16th of December [1585]

Your humble son.

Ph. Sidnei

[To the] right honorable [Sir
Frawncis] Walsingham
Knight, principal Secretary.
&c.

LXXVI

To Sir Moyle Finch

COUSEN Fynche, Having nowe occasion for the furnishing of my bande of horsemen to become a begger unto many of my good frendes for horses, I have thought good emongest the rest to make bolde with you praying you to pleasure me with a serviceable horse out of your Quyrrie, which I assure you at this tyme wilbe very wellcome unto me, and you shall fynde that I will deserve this favour at your handes. And so I comitt you to God. From Flushing this xxth of December, 1585.

Your very loving cousen

Philip Sidnei

To the right worshipfull my very loving Cousen
Sir Moyle Fynche knight give these

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LXXVII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. My cosin Arundel was loth to return without my lettres to your honowr, and I willing to take any occasion to remember my duty unto you, am glad withall to signefy my good will to this gentleman in craving your good countenance towards him as one indeed exceedingly well qualified, and as far as I any way can fynd earnestly and hartily affected to his contreis good. Of all other he is especialli desyrows to be kept in your good favor, which beeing the sum of this letter having written more at larg by Sir Robert Stapleton I humbly take my leav, praiing for your long and happy lyfe.

At Hage. This 29th of January 1586

Your humble son

Philip Sidnei

To the right honorable, Sir
Frawncis Walsingham knight
principal Secretary.

LXXVIII

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord, I have sent this bearer my Cornett to your Excellency whome I do most humbly beseech you to dispatch again unto me, becaus it standes me much uppon to know what I shall resolv on, becaus my charges dyvers waies and particularly of my horsmen grows greater then I am hable to grow thorow withall. I had of the Cownt Hollock a patent for them of Somerdict to lodg me certain number of hors till my company wear sufficient to be mustred, there som of them wear, and now they have gottne uppon what caws I know not an act from your Excellency to be free from any, whereuppon so courteously those boures delt as to arrest my horses the very dai that I had sent for them thinking truly I shold have had occasion to have ventred my lyfe and wold not releas them till I had paid them two hundred flourins for the charges as thei pretended. I humbly beseech your Excellency becaus I know my lieutenant hath been at the sea syde almost this month to my great expence, that I may have either a

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quarter assygned me or els that to this place thei mai bring such provision as the encreacing of the number will requyre for els I beeing not to demand pay till thei be mustred nor to be mustred till my number be complett, it will [be] to heavy a burden for me to bear, who I protest to your Excellency am so fur from desyring gain that I am willing to spend all that I can make onely my care is that I mai be hable to go thorow with it to your honour and service as I hope in God I shall.

For these men they are of the richest yle of these partes and never touched with the war, but so do the rich still putt of all matters by fynding som frend or other of theirs in the counceill that may lighten them to burden others, I humbli beseech your Excellency my cornett may return with such resolution as I mai either go thorow or give over my cornett, for my part I hope and am almost assured to do yow good service and my hart burnes to do it if onely my hability do not fall me in the wai.

For Roger Williams also I wold it wold pleas yowr Excellency to dispatch his sergeant majorship universalli over all horsmen, and in that nature yow mai better allow him som good pension then by beeing onely over the English and so also for his Cornett, the gentleman deserves much.

Heerwith I will no furdre trouble your Excellency but humbli take my leav and pray to God for your long and prosperows lyfe with victory. At Berghen. This 2 of February, 1586.

Your Excellencies most humble and obedient newew.

Ph. Sidnei

To his Excellency
my singular good Lord
The Earl of Leaster.

LXXIX

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. The manner of Verg[ies] death and my intent I have emparked to Mr Tutty at large to deliver to your Excellency, now I am onely to beseech your Excellency and if I mai prevail with your Excellency to persuade yow, that if the journei into Fresland be but uppon

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such generall growndes as thei wear when I came awai which mai as easily be done heerafter as now, that it will pleas yow to send forces to the beseeing of Steenberg, with 200 of your footmen besydes them that these quarters mai spare and 300 of your hors with them heerabout I will undertake uppon my lyfe either to win it or to make the enemy rais his seeg from Grave or which I most hope both. And it shall be done in the sight of the world which is most honorable and profitable. For there matters of practises I assure your Excellency thei are dainty in respect of the doublenes which almost ever fals in them, and of the many impedimentes that fall in them that if notable reasons guyde not or som worthi person answer for it thei are better omitted then attempted. Breda undoutedli at least I think undoutedly was but a trapp, for owr poor Englishmen might have been suffred to take a place, which thei woold never have strivn to putt them out of till thei might have cutt both them and us in peeces who shoold come to seiz it. But as for Grave-ling I will never stur till I have La Mote him self or som principal officers of his in hand. Therefore if it pleas your Excellency to lett Old Tutty and Read with Sir William Stanley, and Sir William Russel with the 200 hors com hether I dout not but to send yow honorable and comfortable news of it, for I have good understanding thereof by this shew I made and I know what the enemy can do shall not serv if this mai be done, 500 pyoners with munition and vittail according must be done, and if God will I will do yow honour in it.

[It] greeves me very much the souldiours are so hard[li d]elt with in your first beginning of government not on[ely] in their paies but in taking booties from them as by y[our] Excellencies letters I fynd, when souldiours grow to despair and give upp townes then it is late to buy that with hundred thowsandes which might have been saved with a tryfle.

I think to wryte a French lettre to your Excellency becaws your Excellency wrate to me in that language which if it pleas yow mai be shewd to your cownceill for by my trot[h] they are even in their old train and mai do that safely u[nder] your cullour now which before they did the more sparingli for fear of hatred. I humbli beseech your Excellency that Marboi[s] mai fynd him self comforted for this service he hath done uppon one of the best Captaines the prince of Parma had. I am

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now departing toward Flushing and the tyde cals me awai, I will therefore humbli kiss your handes and referr the rest to my next.

Praing God to prosper your Excellency as I dout not He will, and so humbli take my leav. At Berghes this 2 of Feb: 1586.

Your Excellencies

most humble and obedient

Ph. Sidnei

[To] his Excellency
my singular good Lord
[The Earl of Leaster.]

LXXX

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord.

The Baron of Greange desyres me to remember yowr Excellency for his dispatch for the Hy dutch regiment which I the willinger do becaws I think him a good honest gentleman, and know that he hath greatly blamed the Count Hollok for his late drunken folly. If your Eccellency mean to levy of that contrei I think he will well serv your turn, I perceav he wold fain be answered becaws accordingly he might rule him self.

Heer are no news in Rotterdam, but that your band is of very hansome men, but meerly and unarmed spending monei and tyme to no purpos.

I humbli kis yowr handes and prai for your long and happy lyfe. At Rotterdam this 12th of Feb. 1586

Your Eccellencies most humble

Ph. Sidn[ei]

Monseigneur
Monseigneur le Conte de Leicester &c.

LXXXI

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord.

This bearer Martin Proger is a man known alreddi to your Excellency a man undoutedly very hable to serv, but in the past tyme of want of government I think he was content to go with the stream of making commodity among the rest whereof

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now he is charged but in revenge thereof he uttreth such fowl abuses in the Magistrates heer as is very horrible. For my part I have not authority to redress it, but to speak of it seek the best amendes I can of it, it fitts properly next under your Excellency to the Count Morrice whome I woold to God yow woold send into these partes with ample authority, I am sure he woold heer advyce, and I am persuaded together we shold do yow services of importance, for dyvers thinges come in my wai which becaws thei belong not indeed to my charge I am fain to lett pass. It is assuredli thought that Sluce will be beseegeed by cutting of the commodity of the sea, onely to be prevented by building the fort, Grunfelt spake for, a matter of greater consequence a great deal then Barge. Thei make such store of cables and other such furniture at Bruges, as it is almost apparent that it is so intended. I have sent Burlas thither, at his comming back I will more particularli advertis your Excellency.

I am in great hope to light uppon som good ocasions to do yow honour and service. The enterprises are still hopefull but not yet fully rype which till thei bee it wear hable to mar all if I shold be far absent. Roger Williams beseecheth your Excellency to pass him his sergeant majorship general with such allowance as shall seem good unto yow. Of all nations they do desyre him, he is fain to be at charge at Berghen: your Excellency shall take care of few men that will more bravely deserv it as I hope he will shew.

For my self I will hasten as soon as I can possibly to your Excellency, when I have but a little settled the matters of these partes, especially of my regiment, over whome since it hath pleased your Excellency to appoint me, and that thei are most joifull of it, if ever I mai deserv any thing of yow, I humbli beseech yow that thei mai fynd them selves so much the more tendred. If it pleas your Excellency but to speak with Valk and Tellin thei will advertis your Excellency of thei[r] particular cace, becaws thei best understand it.

There is with your Excellency Coronel Piron one that hath served as well as any man in these partes, in deed a most vaillant man and of better judgment then uttrance. He and I have enterprises to be done uppon Flanders syde of good importance, I beseech your Excellency to dispatch him awai it shall I hope turn to your servis. The Enemy sturs of every syde, and your

CORRESPONDENCE.

syde must not be ydle, for if it bee it quickly looseth reputation. I beseech your Excellency be not discouraged with the Queenes discontentmentes, for the event beeing ani thing good your glory will shyne thorow those mistes, onely if it pleas yow to have daily cownceill taken of your meanes how to encrease them and how to husband them. And when all is said, if thei can serv yow shall make a noble war, if not the peace is in your hand, as I fynd well by Aldegond, of whome I keep a good opinion and yet a suspiciows ey.

It mai pleas yow to send awai for the Scotts out of Berges for Roger Williams standes in great dout of them. I humbli beseech your Excellency to give present order for that point indeed, and if in their steed it pleased yow to send your Welshmen thither thei shold have a good place of training, and care shold be had of them to your good lyking. It mai pleas your Excellency to send presently awai a placard of the prohibition and punishment of them that vittail the enemy, for yet there is nothing published.

In my opinion where now thei mai carry marchandis to Calleis and vittail to Roan, Roan shold be the next place for marchandis and Nantes for vittail, but that as yowr Excellency shall fynd good, but great expedition of sending the placard is exceeding necessary.

I will no furdre trouble your Excellency for this tyme but with my daily praier for yowr long and happy lyfe and victory over yowr enemies. At Flushing this 19th of February 1586.

Your Excellencies

most humble and obedient nephew

Ph. Sidnei

[To th]e right honorable [my]

[sin]gular good Lord

The Earl of Leicester, Lord General
and Governor etc.

LXXXII

To William Davison

My good Cosin. I long to heer from yow. Uppon my having the Zeland regiment which yow know was more your persuasion then any desyre in me, the Cownt Hollok cawsed a many handed supplication to be made that no stranger might have any regime[nt] but presently after with all the same handes protested thei ment it not by me to whome thei wished all honowr etc.

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The Cownt Morrice shewd him self constantli kind toward me therein, but Mr Paul Bus hath to many Busses in his hed, such as yow shall fynd he will be to God and man about one pitch. Happy is the conjunction with them that join in the fear of God. Medekerk far shynes above him in all matters of cownceill and faithfu[l] dealing. I prai yow wryte to me and love me, and farewel. At Flushing where I thank God all is well, and my garrison in good ordre. This 24th of February 1586.

Your loving cosin and frend,

Ph. Sidnei

[To] the right worshipful my especial
good cosin and frend, Mr Davison
at Court.

LXXXIII

To the Earl of Leicester

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. I am so loth to trouble your Excellency with any thing concerning my self, that I am fain to be urged unto it by others, becaws the necessity of the service requyres it. The Cownceill of Zeland have all with great earnestnes urged me to besecch your Excellency that the regiment it hath pleased yow to appoint under my charge mai be paid according to the manner heertofore observed, for it is dowed that now all beeing brought to one foot they shall be paid but according to the manner of others which though it mai seem just becaws it is equall, it is most unjust becaws of the great difference of the pryzes. I humbli beseech yowr Excellency indeed most humbli and earnestly that it will pleas yow to have graciows consideration thereof, the prince of Orange ever had that regard as well for that reason of the contreis dearth as for the necessity of the places where thei are to be trusted which are both first to be attempted when so ever the enemy makes any great forces, and yet are indeed to be esteemed ovr last strength.

Becaws I know not how long these letters shall be, before they com to your Excellency I will add nothing but my praier for your long and prosperous lyfe with victory over those whom your vertew makes your enemies. At Berghes. This 25th of February. 1586.

Your Excellencies

most humble and obedient

Ph. Sidnei

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXXXIV

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. In this I will sai no furdre but that since my communication with Sir Thomas Henneag whom I fynd a most carefu[l] gentleman both of the caws and of the hon[or] of my Lord as fur as his duty will pe[rmit] him, I hope by his good handling of matter that the great mischeef looked will not follow if it be not pursewe[d] from thence with som new vyolence, but that all thinges will proceed well Her Majesty obeied in her will and I hope satisfied in her opinion fynding it otherw[ise] then perchawnce som have advertised onely that the poor souldiowrs me famish not for want of mon[ey].

That is all my humble remembra[nce] at this tyme which I will conc[lude] with my harty praier for yo[ur] long] and happy lyfe. At Midd[elburg] This .3. of March. 1586

Your humble son

Philip Sidn[ei]

I pray yow Sir lett me know whether yow have sufficien[t] proof of Lawrence Minters honesty, for his advertismentes touching Ostend be nothing worth carriing no particularity in them, and heer he mai do hurt.

To the right honorable Sir Frauncis
Walsingham knight Principall
Secretarie unto Her Majestie.

LXXXV

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I must be an humble suiter to your honor to favor Jackes Van den Walle as far the reasonablenes of his caws will seem to deserv.

I am prest to be a suitour unto yow for him by dyvers and therefore humbli crave your good help unto him, his matter beeing as I am perswaded very much to be pittied, I will not at this present furdre trouble yow but with my daily praier for your long and happy lyfe. At Midelbourg. This 4th of March. 1586.

Yowr humble son

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable Sir Frawncis
Walsingam knight Principal Secretary

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXXXVI

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord. I have writtne to my Lordes of the Cownceill in answer of theirs where becaus I was fain to be long I will not troble your Lordeshippe with any repetition, but onely humbli beseech your Lordeshippe to give yowr hand to the helping of the moneis sending over for truly my Lord els there will som terrible accident follow, particularli to the caution townes, if her Majesty mean to have them cautions. The news heer I leav to Sir Th. Henneag who hath with as much honesty in my opinion done as much hurt as any man this twelv-month hath done with naughtines, but I hope in God when her Majesty fyndes the truth of thinges, her graciousnes will not utterly overthrow a caws so behovefull and costly unto her, but that is beyond my office. I onely cry for Flushing and crave your favour which I will deserv with my service and praier for your long and happy lyfe. At Amsterdam. This 18th of March. 1586.

Your Lordeshippes

humbli at commaundment

Ph. Sidnei

[To] the right hono[rable]

my singular [good] Lord.

The Lord Hy Treasurer of England.

LXXXVII

To William Davison

COSIN. My Lord thinkes great unkyndnes in yow, beeing advertised from thence, that yow greatli disclaim from his defence which now your absence from Court seemes much to confirm, but of your faith I wil make no dout whyle I live, oneli I think yow answered not the point of her Majesties mislyke, for yow answered onely uppon the necessity, but shoold have argued withall uppon the nature which is not absolut as her Majesty took it. Well a great blow is striken, thinges went on beyond expectation, I dout me hardli to be redrest. And so I commit yow to God my good cosin, with harti commendacions to my cosin your wyfe. At Amsterdam. This 19 of March. 1586.

Your loving cosin.

Ph. Sidnei

[To] my especial [good cos]in

Mr [Willi]am Davison

CORRESPONDENCE.

LXXXVIII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. My cosin Croftes woold not return without my lettres to your honowr whome I beseech yow to f[avour] f[or] truly I have a very good opinion of the yong gentlemans honesty and good partes. And so referring my self to the letters I wryte by Adams and Pains I humble take my leav. At Amsterdam. This 19th of March. 1586.

Your humble son.

Ph. Sidnei

[To the] right honorable
Sir Frawncis Walsingham
Knight, principal Secretary.

LXXXIX

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I receav dyvers letters from yow, full of the discomfort which I see and am sorry to see that yow daily meet with at home, and I think such is the goodwill it pleaseth yow to bear me that my part of the trouble is something that troubles yow, but I beseech yow le[t] it not. I had before cast my count of dang[er] want and disgrace, and before God Sir it is trew [that] in my hart the love of the caws doth so far overballance them all that with Gods grace thei shall never make me weery of my resolution. If her Majesty wear the fowntain I woold fear considring what I daily fynd that we shold wax dry, but she is but a means whom God useth and I know not whether I am deceived but I am faithfully persuaded that if she shold withdraw her self other springes woold ryse to help this action. For me thinkes I see the great work indeed in hand, against the abusers of the world, wherein it is no greater fault to have confidence in mans power, then it is to hastily to despair of Gods work. I think a wyse and constant man ought never to greev whyle he doth plai as a man mai sai his own part truly though others be out but if him self leav his hold becaws other marrin[ers] will be ydle he will hardli forg[ive] him self his own fault. For me I can not promis of my own cource no nor

CORRESPONDENCE.

of the my[] becaus I know there is a hyer power that must uphold me or els I shall fall, but certainly I trust, I shall not by other mens wantes be drawn from my self.

Therefore good Sir to whome for my particular I am more bound then to all men besydes, be not troubled with my trouble for I have seen the worst in my judgment before hand, and wors then that can not bee. If the queen pai not her souldiours she must loos her garrisons there is no dout thereof.

But no man living shall be hable to sai the fault is in me. What releef I can do them I will. I will spare no danger if ocasion serv I am sure no creature shall be hable to lai injustice to my charge, and for furdre doutes truly I stand not uppon them. I have written by Adams to the Cownceil plainli thereof lett them determin. It hath been a costly beginning unto me this war, by reason I had no thing proportioned unto it my servantes unexperienced and my self every wai unfurnished, and no helpes, but heerafter if the war continew I shall pas much better thorow with it. For Bergen up Zome I delighted in it I confess becaus it was neer the enemy, but especially having a very fair hows in it and an excellent air I destenied it for my wyfe, but fynding how yow deal there [a]nd that ill payment in my absence thens might bring foorth som mischeef and considering how apt the Queen is to interpret every thing to my disadvantage, I have resigned it to my Lord Willowghby my very frend and in deed a vaillant and frank gentleman, and fitt for that place. Therefore I pray yow know that so much of my regality is faln. I understand I am called very ambitious and proud at home, but certainly if thei knew my ha[rt] thei woold not altogether so judg me. I wro[te] to yow a letter by William my Lord of Lester jesting plaier, enclosed in a letter to my wyfe, and I never had answer thereof, it contained something to my Lord of Lester, and counceil that som wai might be taken to stai my Ladi there. I since dyvers tymes have writt to know whether y[ow] had receaved them, but yow never answered me that point. I since fynd that the knave delivered the letters to my Ladi of Lester, but whether she sent them yow or no I know not but earnestly desyre to do, becaus I dout there is [m]ore interpreted thereof. M^r Erington is with me at Flushing and therefore I think my self at the more rest having a man of his reputation, but I assure yow Sir in good

CORRESPONDENCE.

earnest I fynd Burlas an other manner of man then he is taken

I expected. I wold to God Burn[am]]ld obtain his suit. He is honest but somewhat disco[m]fo[r]ted with consideration of his estate. Turner was good for nothing and worst for the sownd of the harkabus. We shall have a sore war uppon us this sommer, wherein if appointment had been kept and these disgraces forborn which have greatly weakened us we had been victorious. I can sai no more at this tyme but prai for your long and happy lyfe. At Utrecht this 24th of March 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei.

[I] know n[ot] what to sai to my wyves comming till yow resolv better for if yow run a strange cource I mai take such a one heer as will not be fitt for any of the feminin gender. I prai yow make much of Nichol Gorg I have vyldli deceived for armures for horsmen. If yow cold speedily spare me any of your armury, I will send them yow as soon as my own be finished. There was never so good a father had a more troublesom son.

Send Sir William Pellam good Sir and lett him have Clerkes place, for we nee[d] no clearkes and it is most necessary to have such a one in the cownceil.

[To t]he right hono[ra]ble Sir Frawncis
Walsingham knight principal
Secretary &c.

XC

To the States of Zealand

MESSIEURS

J'ai receu les lettres, que vos Seigneuries m'ont mandés touchant les souldats anglois devant Campheer. De ma part son Excellence ne m'en aiant pas escript, je n'y puis rien faire, sinon les adviser d'aller plus outre, s'ils ne peuvent estre icy receus, l'intention de son Excellence n'estant autre, qu'ils s'y tiennent jusques à estre armés, comme quelques autres compagnies ont esté à Rotterdam, sans aucune plainte de la ville. Pleust à Dieu, que la liberté de ce pais se pourroit conserver sans souldards, ou que les souldars pourroint estre employés sans aucun ennui du peuple, mais comme je dis, je n'ai nulle comission d'en disposer et pourtant il vous plaira luy respondre

CORRESPONDENCE.

comme vous le trouverés bon. Je nommois Armuiden seulement à cause que messieurs du conseil de Zelande trouvoient bon, qu'il y eust quelques gens et à la vérité de mon Régiment je ne vois comment le faire sans défournir autres lieux en plus apparent danger, jusques à ce que les autres compagnies, qui me sont ordonnées, nous puissent aucunement soulager, mais en mon opinion il sera fort bon de prendre quelque ordre, qu'ils puissent estre en quelque lieu, jusques à en avoir nouvelles de Son Excellence, car de Vianen je ne sçai ce que vos Seigneuries entendent, puisque c'est une compagnie nouvellement faite.

Et sans doute il fault escrire à son Excellence, qu'il y aie telle intelligence d'oresenavant que les soudards, qui viennent comme en atendons journellement, puissent sçavoir le lieu ou ils seront receus. Et de moi je seconderai vos lettres en cela de tout le meilleur moiens que je puisse user et prierai Dieu, Messieurs, qu'avec une bonne et heureuse issue de cette guerre vous pourrés bien tost estre quittes de toutes ces fascheries.

De Flussing le 11^{me} de Avril 1586.

Vostre bien humble et affectionné ami
pour vous faire service.

Ph. Sidney

A Messieurs
Messieurs les Estats de Zelande

XCI

To William Davison

COSIN. I am hartily sorry with the unkyndnes yow conceav of my Lord, and more at the caws thereof. I know by letters thence and som speeches heer that he was much incensed becaws he had heard that yow had utterly and with teares disclaimed him with mislyke of the acceptacion but I did never think he had writtne touching yow into England. For my part I wil for no caws deny (and therefore yow shall have my handwryting to prove I am no acuser of yow), that I was ever of opinion he shold accept it without delai, becaws of the necessity, without sending to her Majesty becaws of not forcing her in a manner to be furdre engaged then she wold, which had been a peece of an undutiful dutifulnes. The oddes was that som others wear

CORRESPONDENCE.

of opinion the authority was not inough, yow lyked of this as it is, and I onely lent to yowr opinion therein. Well cosin these mistakinges somtymes breed hard effectes, but I know he in his judgment loves yow very well; how so ever in his passion he have writtn, and so I end assuring yow that I am still one toward yow as one that know yow and therefore love yow.

Commend me to my cosin and God preserv yow both. At Flushing this 14th of April [1586]

Yowr most loving cosin

Ph. Sidnei

[To m]y especiall good [cosin]

Mr William Davison

XCII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. Mr Cesar whom your honour recommended unto me is desyrows to go back with lyke recommendation beeing as it seemes more enclyned to som other cource of lyfe. I beseech your honor continew your good favor toward him, and so I humbli commit yow to the blessed protection of the Almighty. At Flushing this 15th of Aprill. 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable, Sir Frawncis
Walsingam knight principal
Secretary etc.

XCIII

To the States of Zealand

MESSIEURS.

J'ay receu la lettre de vos Seigneuries escripte à Middelbourgh le 24 de ce mois sur les arrieraiges des trois compaignies de mon Regiment ayant esté en garnison en ceste ville, laquelle j'ay communiqué avecq l'ung des capitaines y mentionnez, par qui j'entends que tous les trois capitaines ont payé, avant que sortir de ceste ville, les debtes pour lesquelles ilz avoient respondu, assçavoir la louage des chambres de leurs soldats, soustenant que pour les aultres debtes ilz ne sont aulcunement tenuz en leur

CORRESPONDENCE.

particulier, comme n'ayant pas tant seulement point responduz pour icelles, mais au son de la cloche insinué aux bourgeois, qu'ilz auroient garde de donner aulcung crédit aux soldats sinon pour ledit louage des chambres, leurs services et petite bière, présentant néantmoins ledit capitaine tant en son nom que pour les aultres, de faire payer toutes les debtes, qui seront trouvées legitimes, moiennant que voz Seigneuries leurs fachiez remboursser les arriéraiges de trois ans et demi, pour lesquelles ilz ont sollicité par l'espace de huict mois et davantaige, à ce que j'entends. Et certes me semble soubz correction ceste présentation estre très équitable, comme au contraire l'arrest, que l'on voudroit faire sur leurs gaiges présentes à ladvenant desdits debtes ne me semble aulcunement fondé en droict, dont aussy je me trouverroy en mon particulier fort interessé autant que pour les vielles debtes je me trouveroy privé de lunicque moien pour pouvoir faire entretenir bonne discipline militaire entre mes compagnies. Parce Messieurs, advisez par ecsemble, je vous supplie, à ce que lesdits capitaines puyssent estre payez de leurs arriéraiges, affin qu'ilz ayent moien de pouvoir faire remboursser aux créditeurs de leurs compagnies leurs debtes legitimes. Et surce me recommandant bien humblement à vos bonnes graces, je prie Dieu, Messieurs, vous maintenir en sa sainte et digne garde. De Flissinges le 25 d'Aprvil 1586, stilo novo. [15 April. O.S.]

Vostre tres humble et affectionné pour vous
faire service.

Ph. Sidney

A Messeigneurs
M[essieur]s les Estatz du Conte de Zelande

XCIV

To the States of Zealand

MESSIEURS.

Comme il a pleu à Son Excellence de m'ordonner que pour instruire mon Régiment de vingt compagnies j'auroy à dresser une compagnie colonnelle, ayant à cest effect donné charge à mon lieutenant qu'au plustost cela se fache, je vous prie de me

CORRESPONDENCE.

vouloir assigner qu'elque place laquelle vous semblera la plus commode pour y avoir le rende vous. Et surce me recommandant bien humblement à voz bonnes graces, je prie Dieu, Messieurs, vous avoir en sa sainte et digne garde. De Flissinges le 25 d'Aprvil 1586. [15 April O.S.]

Vostre très affectionné en service.

Ph. Sidney

A Messieurs

M[essi]eurs les députez des Estatz de [Zelande]

XCV

To Thomas Mills

Mr MILLS. I thancke you hartelie for your letter and more particolerlie for those large advertisements contained in it. The more often you make me in that maner beholding unto you, the greater reason shall you geve me still to acknowledg[e]

Touching the Master of Greys I Lord of

Lecester hathe allreadie his letter and at

my last being and the States had laide downe a
ress comminge hither and money to be sent

pres[entlie] to him for the transporting of his men. Of late I

have not bene with his Lordship, and therefore knowe not yett

of any other matter determind to the contrarie. But in truthe

if I might well write it to the Master of Grey I wold rather

wishe him, if he have any other enterprise in hand to goe on

with that first, untill our matters be better setled heere, for I

cannot as [con]sidering how things stand heere wish any f[reend]

of myne whom I love as I have reason to love him to imbarcke

him self in these matters untill we be assured of better harbo-

roughe. And thus leaving it to be told him rather by you then

written by my selfe I committ you to the Lord. Flushing the
xxixth of Aprill 1586

Your loving freend

Ph. Sidnei

Yow know it shoold evill becom me to disgrace our own warres but considering how we are backed I rather wish som other then he found the hardnes of it

[To my] especialli good [frend Mr Thomas] Mills, with

[Thomas R]andolph, Embassadour in Scotland.

CORRESPONDENCE.

XCVI

To the Council of the States of Zealand

MESSIEURS.

Il y a procès pendant indécié pardevant voz Seigneuries entre le fiscal de vostre court et Randal Finiex, marchand Anglois à cause de certaine quantité du plomb prins en mer par les batteaux de guerre de ceste ville, prétendant ledit fiscal que le dit plomb seroit de bonne prinse. Et comme cest affaire de fort bonne part m'est grandement recommandé d'Angleterre, je ne puy moins que de vous prier que ceste cause par vostre conseil soit déterminée aultant favorablement comme pour le prouffict dudit marchand serat aulcunement possible, nusantz pour ceste fois la rigueur du placart de Son Excellence, dont ceulx d'Angleterre pour alors estans encoires ignorans ne doibvent pas estre estimez contraventeurs malings, ayant ledit marchand en bonne foy payé les droictz et obtenu passeport convenable de pouvoir transporter lesdits biens en France. Et espérant que ceste ma recommandation servira audit marchand pour trouver devers voz Seigneuries quelque grace, je me recommanderai bien humblement à voz bonnes graces, priant Dieu, Messieurs, vous avoir en sa sainte garde. De Flissinges le 12 de May 1586. [2 May O.S.]

Vostre tres affectionné ami pour vous faire service.

Ph. Sidney

A Messieurs
[Messieurs] du Conseil commiz des Estatz
de Zelande

XCVII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. There are 4 sould[iers] of Captain Huntleis who are run awai [to] England, such as I assure your hono[ur] weare as well used of their Cap[tain] as ani men might bee. I besee[ch] yowr honour give ordre thei mai [be] sent back again, for els we shall have the lyke villeiny used, and som back out of England will save us from the lyke again. And so [I] humbli take my leav praiing to [God] for your long and happy l[yfe.] At Flushing this 6 [of Mai] 1586

Your humble s[on]

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable, Sir Frawncis Walsingam
knight principal Secretary, &c.

CORRESPONDENCE.

XCVIII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I send this bearer unto yow. I assure yow Sir one of excellent skill proved by most notable cures he hath done, yet wold I not have him deal with yow till he have made proof of others there, onely I beseech yow lett him sai his judgment thereof. He healed Roger Williams in .3. daies when for my part I thought he wold have been dead in 3 daies. He is an Anabaptist in Religion which is pittie for in conversation he is honest. Yet still indeed I wish his hand and skill be first assaied with som other. I will now sai no more but prai hartily for your long and happy lyfe. At Midelbourg. This 10th of Mai 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

I am going to the camp therefore if it pleas yow to direct your letters, to Arnham: but now I remember me in som respectes I had rather thei ever take Flushing wai for thence thei will come maidenly to me. I wryte somtymes of dyvers pointes whereof I have no answer, as touching coiners taken heer and one Amias of Lyme who is the father of them all. The justice hath staid these 4 or fyve monthes onely uppon that [To the] right honor[able Sir] Francis [Walsin]gam Knight principal Secretary

XCIX

To the Master of Gray

My most honowred brother. If these few wordes express unto yow the assurednes of my constant affection thei shall have performed the cheef caws of my present sending unto yow.

And therein I prai yow beleev me for whyle I live I will not fail yow. My lord is exceedingli desyrows to have your presence heer. But by reason there is not yet so full an establisht authority as there shold, the moiens come in so slowli as in good faith I know not whether I shold wish the comming of so deer a frend or no. This gentleman the Conservator of your nation in Camp-

CORRESPONDENCE.

heer understandes the nature of thinges heer as well as owr selves and therefore he can plainly make yow know what the estate both is in effect and yet might be if the government wear more sowndli grownded. I have no more to troble yow but to prai yow for my sake to make much account of this gentleman for I have fownd him my very frend. And which is the last or rather the first point hold me I beseech yow in the graciows remembrance of yowr King whom indeed I love. And so I take my leav, and leav yow to the blessed protection of the Almighty. At the Camp, before Nunegen. This 17th of Mai. 1586.

Yowr faithful brother.
to do yow service

Ph. Sidnei.

[To] my most honowred
[frend] the Maister of
Grai

C

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. This gentleman M^r Thresorer I have dyvers waies been much beholding to and have ever fownd him in all thinges whereby I coold judg religiews and honest. How he goes over to make his accowntes which becaws I undrestand not I can not answer for but leav that to his own cleering, onely I join with him in this his humble request that yowr honowr who have ever been his frend will not condem him till yow see matters proved, which I beseech yow Sir grawnt him as I know yow will for equiti sake. And so conclude to hasten awai the treasure for els som great mischeef will follow. And so I humbli take my leav praiing to God for yowr long and happy lyfe. At Arnam. This 25th of Mai 1586.

Yowr humble son

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable Sir
Francis Walsingham knight
principal Secretari

CORRESPONDENCE.

CI

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I humbly beseech yow that expres commandment be given to Mr Thresorer from her Majesty that as soon as the treasure landes at Flushing the garrisons of the cautionary townes be paid with the service monei dew to the two companies above her Majesties proportion. My Lord wold have the treasure all brought hether first, but truly heerin for the great importance of the places and churlishnes of the peoples humors especially of Flushing I must needes crave that they be first lookt to. I prai yow forget not this in deed I humbly beseech yow and so I leav yow to the blessed protection of the Almighti. At Arnham. This 25th of Mai 1586

Yowr humble son

Ph. Sidnei.

[To the] right honorable
[Sir Fraw]ncis Walsingham
Knight principal Secretary

CII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honourable, I beseeche yow commaund, that the serviceable horses which were my fathers, maie be sent hither to me with some spede by Wren, my fathers late servant, I wold have them to serve in my cornett, which, thowgh, alreadie, it be in the feild, full and faire, yet wold I have those to supplie the wantt, of some such as I wold take owt to serve my private use that whether I be ther, or no, yet my cornett maie alwaies be full as it owght. And so I humbly take my leave. Arnham this 26 of Maie. 1586.

Yowr humble son

Ph. Sidnei

[To Mr] Secretary Walsingham
[To the] right honourable
Sir Francis [Walsingham]
knight hir Majesties Secretary
&c.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CIII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honourable. This bearer desiring my lettres unto yow, for yowr favourable helpe in such suite and occasion as he shall have, I have thowght good to commend him to yowr good favour, praying yow to helpe him wherin he nedeth the rather at this my instance. And so I humblie take my leave. From Arnham this last of May 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

To the Right honourable Sir
Francis Walsingham knight
hir Majesties principall Secretary

CIV

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. My cosin Sir Richard Dyer is gone home with resolution and leav to bring over 500 men. The gentleman is very vaillant and supplies all other thinges with diligence and desyre to d[o] well. I beseech yow both cowntenance and favor him. I am presently going toward Flushing whence I heer that your daughter is very well and merry. I know not how long this letter shall be in the wai and therefore I wil no furdre trouble yow at this present but with my most harty praier for yowr long and happy lyfe. At Utrecht. This 28th of June. 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

[To the] right honorable
[Sir Fraw]ncis Walsingham
principal Secretary

CV

To William Davison

GOOD cosin. The long practis of Graveling which was brought unto us is proved a flat treason I think even in them that delt with us. The circumstances I leav to Burnet, who

CORRESPONDENCE.

yet thinkes better of the practisers then I do. For your self cosin assure your self any wai that I can testefy my assured frendship toward yow I wil. Grownd uppon it for I wil not fail yow and so I leav yow to Gods blessed protection. At Flushing. This 20th of Juli 1586

Your loving frend and cosin

Ph. Sidnei

[To] my especiall good frend and cosin
Mr Davison &c.

CVI

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I know it needles to recommend M^r Fremin who hath been so long and so well known unto yow, yet my goodwill to him can not omitt though needlessly to beseech yow, to employ your favor toward him since yow can not do it to ani man that will better deserv it of the publick and of your honour in particular. My Lord hath willed him to rais a regiment in which he meanes to draw together dyvers French who bee in England, his intent is very good, and none have charge on this syde who gett better reputation for using their souldiowrs then he doth, but I know it superfluows to use more wordes of him to your honour, this oneli hath been to testefy myne own affection which I wil conclude with harty praier for your long and happy lyfe. At Flushing. This 25 of Juli 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable
Sir Frawncis Walsingham
knight Principal Secretary

CVII

To the Lords of the Council

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lordes. I send this gentleman M^r Burnam humbli to geve yowr Lordeshippes to understand the weak store of all sort of necessary munition that both this town and the castell of Ramekins have. These States I have tryed to the uttermost but partly with the opinion

CORRESPONDENCE.

it more toucheth her Majesty becaus it is her pawn but principally becaus they have ever present ocasion to emploie both all thei have and indeed much more upon the places neerest to the Enemy, we in this town and as I think Breel shall still demand and stil go without. Therefore I can not but most humbli sai it before yowr Lordeshippes, by the grace of God my trust is in him that my lyfe shall discharge me of blame, but I nor all that be heer, can perform the servis we ow to her Majesty without such meerly necessary thinges. I will neither speak of the consequence of the place, nor of ani quantity, your Lordeshippes can better judg, I do onely protest to your Honors that I think it very lykely we shall have ocasion to use it, and till then it mai be kept by som officer appointed by her Majesty never one grain of it to be used for no servis till it be for the last point of extremity. There is nothing will keep these people in better order then that thei see we are strong. I beseech yowr Lordeshippes to consider it according to the weight of the caws, and so I most humbly take my leav praiing to God to grawnt yowr Lordeshippes long and happy lyves. At Flussing. This 14th of August. 1586.

Yowr Lordeshippes most humbli to
be commanded

Ph. Sidnei

To the right honorable my singular
good Lordes The Lordes of her Majesties
most honorable Prive Councill

CVIII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I humbli prai yow to confer with Burnam, how I am left in this town, a thing I ever foresaw wold be, but could not remedi it but from thence where I have often solicited it. I beseech yow Sir labour for me or rather for her Majesty in it. She need be discouraged with no thing whyle she keepes these principal sea places, nai I think it wear hard to sai whether it wear not better for us to embrace no more but we do still make camps and streight again mar them for want of meanes, and so lose our monei to no purpos, where if we wold gal him now in Fresland now in Flawndres he shold have no leisure to ly before townes as he doth. I humbli beseech yow to favour

CORRESPONDENCE.

Burnam whom I send in this caws, that his suit mai be obtained if it be possible. He is one I love exceeding well. And so I humbli take my leav and prai for your long and happy lyfe. At Flushing This 14th of August. [1586]

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

[To] the right hono[rable] Sir Frawncis
Walsingam knight Principal Secretary &c.

CIX

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. I most humbli beseech yow, to favour Captain White my servant and as honest a servant as ever I had, to Burnam and him I have told my mynd in all thinges. I oftne craved the Treasurer might be commanded to pai this place, I assure yow Sir this night we wear at a fair plunge to have lost all for want of it. We are now four monthes behynd a thing unsupportable in this place. To complain of my Lord of Lester yow know I mai not but this is the cace if once the souldiours fall to a thorow mutiny this town is lost in all lykelihod. I did never think our nation had been so apt to go to the Enemy as I fynd them.

If this place might possibly have som peculiar care of it it shold well deserv it, for in fyne this yland if once her Majesty wold make her self sure of it is well worth all the charge her Majesty hath ever been at in this caws, and all the king of Spaines force shold never be hable to recover it though all the rest wear lost, and without it shold be never hable to envade England. I have alreddi gotten in a Dutch company at my commandment and into Campheer so as with no great matter I coold make her Majesty sure of this yle, if this town wear well provyded both with men and munition. But I leav more larg discourse to Mr Burnam, and so I humbli take my leav, praiing for your long and happy lyfe. At Flushing. This 14th of August 1586

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

[To] the right honorable [Sir]
Francis Walsingam knight
principal Secretary &c.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CX

To Lord Burghley

RIGHT honorable my singular good Lord I humbly beseech your Lordshippe to vouchsafe the heering Mr Burnam in what case for all sort of munition we are in this town. I think Sir Thomas Cecill bee in the lyke. I hope exceedingly in your Lordshippes honorable care thereof, the places beeing of so great moment. If we be turned over to the States it is as good as nothing, and it shall be no loss to her Majesty to have some store under an officer of her own, whom it shall please her, not to be spent but upon urgent necessity. The garrison is weak, the people by these cross fortunes crossly disposed, and this is the conclusion if these .2. places be kept her Majesty hath worth her money in all extremities, if they should be lost none of the rest would hold a day.

I write in great haste to your Lordshippe because the ship can stay no longer, which I beseech your Lordshippe consider and pardon, and vouchsafe to hold me in your favour as I will pray to God for your long and prosperous life. At Flushing. This 14th of August. 1586.

Your Lordshippes most humbly at
commandment

Ph. Sidney

CXI

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honorable. These only shall be in the most humble and effectually manner I can, to desire your thorough friendship to one of the most assured friends that I have ever had. It is my Lord Burrow, who by Sir Thomas Cecill's choice and my Lord the Generals very good liking is left by him in his absence governor of Brill. If sickness or other causes stay Sir Thomas in England, then my suit as earnest as I can make for any thing is that he may succeed him for it being most necessary that some man of very good countenance remain there he both in valour judgment religion deserving it, should be exceedingly disgraced if being left in it by Sir Thomas another should take it from him.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The matter and my mynd I shal not need further to manifest to your Honor, but recommending it as my self humbli leav yow to the blessed protection of the Almighty. At the Camp, by Dusburg. This .10. of September. 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

[To the] right honorable [Sir Fraw]ncis
Walsingam knight Principal
Secretary

CXII

To Justus Lipsius

LEIDAM.

Mi Lipsi. Doleo quod a nobis discedas, & eo magis doleo, quod verear ne istarum rerum taedium tam sit in causa quam ipsa valetudo. Si ita fit, (& nisi etiam de nostra Anglia desperes) obtestor te per nostram amicitiam, ut velis de te eo transferendo cogitare. Conditionem, quam tibi aliquando obtuli, ita ratam faciam, ut me moriente non deficere potuerit. Novi te gratissimum fore nostrae Reginae & multis aliis, imo omnibus aliis; & meae fidei te committas. Tibi non fore injucundum iter, si tantum pro valetudine ad illos fontes te confers, Ipsae Musae adsint tibi, modo ut redeas, nec nos vere tui amantes deseras. Post illum optatum reditum ulterius conferemus; nunc istorum negotiorum fluctibus pene obruor. Pro Busio egi, & agam, quia tu ita vis; & certe miseret me hominis, quamvis de me non optime meriti. Inquietum enim facile Judicarem, non infidelem. Nos cum multis difficultatibus luctamur, credo Deum ita velle, in suis rem mitigare, ut non sint nobis nec currus nec catenae. Diutius tecum nec calamus potest morari. Tu me ama & vale.

Deventriae. 14 Septembris 1586

CXIII

To Sir Francis Walsingham

RIGHT honourable. This bearer Richard Smyth hir majesties old servant hath my Lord of Leicester his Lettres directed unto yow, in his favour, for his suite to hir Majestie, and therewithall requesteth myne, hoping yowr Honour will the rather helpe

CORRESPONDENCE.

him. I beseche yow therfore, the rather at my request to helpe him, and be the good mean for the poor mans preferment, having so long served, and now being aged, and weake hath such need of this or suche other good mean for his releife, as withowt it he may rest, as I hear, in more miserie then the desert of so long service requireth. I comend him and his cawse to yowr Honour good favour and help and so I humblie take my leave. From the camp at Sutphen this 22 of September 1586.

Your humble son

Ph. Sidnei

To the Right honourable Sir Francis
Walsingham knight hir Majesties
Principall Secretary &c.

CXIV

To Johan W. Weyer

MI WEIERE veni, veni, de vita periclitator et te cupio.—Nec vivus nec mortuus ero ingratus. Plura non possum sed obnixero ut festines. Vale. Arnemi. [16th October 1586]

Tuus

Ph. Sidney

TRANSLATIONS.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM I.

Beatus vir.

He blessed is, who neither loosely treads
The straying stepps as wicked counsel leades,
Ne for bad mates in way of sinning wayteth,
Nor yet himself with idle scorers scateth;
But on Gods law his hearts delight doth bind,
Which night & day he calls to marking mind.

He shall be like a freshly planted tree,
To which sweet springs of waters neighbours be.
Whose braunches faile not timely fruite to nourish,
Nor with red leafe shall make yt faile to flourish.
So all the things whereto that man doth bend,
Shall prosper still, with well succeeding end.

Such blessings shall not wicked wretches see:
But lyke vyle chaff with wind shal scatted be;
For neither shall the men in sin delighted
Consist, when they to highest doome are cited.
Ne yet shall suffred be a place to take,
Where godly men do their assembly make.

For God doth know, & knowing doth approve
The trade of them, that just proceeding love
But they that sinne, in sinfull breast do cherish
The way they go shall be their way to perish.

PSALM II.

Quare fremuerunt gentes.

What ayles this heathenish rage? What do thes people meane
To mutter murmures vaine?
Why do these earthly kings & lords such meeting make,
And councel joyntly take,
Against the Lord of Lords, the lord of every thing,
And his anoynted king?
Come, let us break their bonds, say they, & fondly say:
And cast their yoakes away.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

But he shall them deride, who by the heavns is borne,
He shall laugh them to scorn,
And after speake to them, with breath of wrathful fire,
And vex them in his ire.
And say (O kings) yet have I set my King upon
My Holy Hill Syon ;
And I will (sayeth His king) the Lords decrece display,
And say that he did say :
Thou art my Son indeed, this day begott by me :
Ask I will give to thee,
The Heathen for thy Childs right, & will thy realme extend
Farr as Worlds farthest end.
With Iron scepter bruse thou shalt, & peece meale breake
These men like potshards weake.
Therefore (O kings), be wise, O rulers rule your mind,
That knowledg you may finde.
Serve God, serve him with feare: Rejoyce in him but so,
That joy with trembling go.
With loving homage kisse that only son he hath,
Least you enflame his wrath.
Whereof if but a sparke once kindled be, you all
From your way perish shall
And then they that in him their only trust do rest,
O they be rightly blest.

PSALM III.

Domine quid multiplic :

Lord how do they encrease
That hatefull never cease
To breed my grievous trouble
How many Ones there be
That all against poore me
Their numbrous strength redouble.
Even multitudes be they
That to my Soul do say
No help for you remaineth
In God on whom you build
Yet Lord thou art my shield
In thee my glory raigneth.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

The Lord lifts up my head
To him my voice I spread
 From Holy hill he heard me
I layd me down & slept
While he me safely kept,
 And safe from sleep I reard me.

I will not be afraid
Though legions round be layd,
 Which all against me gather:
I say no more but this:
Up Lord now time it is:
 Help me my God & Father!

For thou with cruel blowes
On jawbones of my foes,
 My causeless wrongs hast wroken:
Thou those mens teeth which byte,
Venom'd with godless spight,
 Hast in their malice broken.

Salvation doth belong
Unto the Lord most strong:
 He is he that defendeth:
And on those blessed same
Which beare his peoples name,
 His blessing he extendeth.

PSALM IV.

Cum invocarem.

Heare me, O heare me, when I call,
 O God God of my equity:
 Thou sett'st me free when I was thrall,
 Have mercy therefore still on me,
 And harken how I pray to thee.

O men, whose fathers were but men,
 Till when will ye my honor high
 Stain with your blasphemies? till when
 Such pleasure take in vanity,
 And only hunt where lies do ly?

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Yet know this to, that God did take
When he chose me, a godly one:
Such one, I say, that when I make
My cryeng plaintes to him alone,
He will give good eare to my moane.

O tremble then with awfull will:
Sinne from all rule in you depose,
Talk with your harts and yet be still:
And when your chamber you do close,
Your selves, yet to your selves disclose.

The sacrifices sacrifice
Of just desires, on justice staid
Trust in that Lord that cannot ly.
Indeed full many folkes have said,
From whence shall come to us such aid?

But Lord lift thou upon our sight
The shining cleerenes of thy face:
Where I have found more hartes delight,
Then they whose store in harvests space
Of grain and wine fills stoaring place.

So I in peace and peacefull blisse
Will lay me down and take my rest:
For it is thou Lord, thou it is,
By pow'r of whose own onely brest
I dwell, laid up in safest neast.

PSALM V.

Verba mea auribus.

Ponder the wordes O Lord that I doe say,
Consider what I meditate in me:
O harken to my voice which calls on thee,
My king, my God, for I to thee will pray.
Soe shall my voice clime to thine eares betime:
For unto thee I will my praier send
With earliest entry of the morning prime,
And will my waiting eies to thee-ward bend.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

For thou art that same God, farre from delight
In that which of fowle wickednes doth smell :
No, nor with thee the naughty ones shall dwell,
Nor glorious fooles stand in thy awfull sight.
Thou hatest all whose workes in ill are plac'd,
And shalt roote out the tongues to lyeng bent:
For thou, the Lord, in endles hatred hast
The murderous man and soe the fraudulent.

But I my self will to thy howse addresse
With pasport of thy graces manifold:
And in thy feare, knees of my hart will fold,
Towardes the temple of thy hollinesse.
Thou Lord, thou Lord, the saver of thine owne !
Guid me, ô in thy justice be my guide:
And make thy waies to me more plainly known,
For all I need, that with such foes do bide.

For in their mouth not one cleare word is spent,
Mischief their soules for inmost lyming have:
Their throate it is an open swallowing grave,
Whereto their tong, is flattring instrument.
Give them their due unto their guiltinesse
Let their vile thoughts the thinkers ruine be:
With heaped weights, of their own sinns oppresse
These most ungratefull rebels unto thee.

So shal all they that trust on thee doe bend,
And love the sweete sound of thy name, rejoyce:
They ever shall send thee their praising voice;
Since ever thou to them wilt succour send.
Thy work it is to blesse, thou blessedst them
The just in thee, on thee and justice build:
Thy work it is such men safe in to hemm
With kindest care, as with a certain shield.

PSALM VI.

Domine ne in furore.

Lord lett not mee a worm by thee be shent
While thou art in the heate of thy displeasure:
Ne let thy rage; of my due punnishment
Become the measure.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

But mercy Lord, lett mercy thine descend,
For I am weake, and in my weaknes languish:
Lord help, for ev'n my bones their marrow spend
With cruell anguish.

Nay ev'n my soule fell troubles do appall.
Alas how long my God wilt thou delay me?
Turn thee, sweete Lord, and from this ougly fall
My deere God stay me.

Mercy, ô mercy Lord, for mercies sake,
For death doth kill the wittnes of thy glory,
Can of thy praise the tongues entombed make
A heav'nly story?

Loe I am tir'd while still I sigh and grone:
My moistned bed proofes of my sorrow showeth:
My bed (while I with black night moorn alone)
With my teares floweth.

Woe, like a Moth, my faces beutie eates,
And age pul'd on with paines all freshnes fretteth;
The while a swarm of foes with vexing feates
My life besetteth.

Gett hence you evill, who in my ill rejoyce,
In all whose works vaineresse is ever raigning:
For God hath heard the weeping sobbing voice
Of my complying.

The Lord my suite did heare, and gently heare
They shall be sham'd and vext, that breed my cryeng:
And turn their backs, and straight on backs appeare
Their shamfull flyeng.

PSALM VII.

Domine, Deus meus.

O Lord, my God, thou art my trustfull stay:
O save me from this persecutions show'r:
Deliver me in my endangerd way.

Least Lion-like, he doe my soule devoure;
And cruelly in many peeces teare,
While I am voide of any helping pow'r.

O Lord, my God, if I did not forbear
Ever from deede of any such desert:
If ought my handes of wickednes do beare:

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

If I have byn unkinde for frendly part:
Nay if I wrought not for his freedoms sake,
Who causlesse now, yeeldes me a hatefull hart:
Then let my foe chase me, and chasing take:
Then lett his foote upon my neck be set:
Then in the dust lett hym my honor rake.
Arise, ô Lord, in wrath thy self up sett
Against such rage of foes; awake for me
To that high doom, which I by thee must gett.
So shall all men with laudes environ thee
Therefore ô Lord lift up thy throne on high
That ev'ry folk thy wondrous acts may see.
Thou Lord, the people shalt in judgment try:
Then Lord, my Lord give sentence on my side
After my clearnesse, and my equity.
O let their wickednes no longer bide
From comming to the well deserved end:
But still be thou to just men justest guide.
Thou righteous proofes to hartes and reines dost send:
And all my helpe from none but thee is sent,
Who dost thy saving-health to true men bend.
Thou righteous art, thou strong, thou patient:
And each day art provok'd thyne ire to show:
And if this man will not learn to repent,
For hym thou whettst thy sword and bend'st thy bow,
And hast thy deadly armes in order brought,
And ready art to lett thyne Arrowes go.
Lo he that first conceav'd a wretched thought,
And greate with child of mischief travel'd long,
Now brought a bed, hath brought nought foorth but nought.
A pitt was digg'd by this man vainly strong,
But in the pitt he ruin'd first did fall,
Which fall he made, to doe his neighbour wrong.
He against me doth throw, but down it shall
Upon his pate; his paine employed thus
And his own ill, his own head shall appall.
I will give thancks unto the Lord of us
According to his heav'nly equity,
And will to highest name yeeld praises high.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM VIII.

Domine, Dominus.

O Lord that rul'st our mortall lyne
How through the world thy name doth shine:
That hast of thine unmatched glory
Upon the heav'ns engrav'n the story.

From sucklings hath thy honor sprong,
Thy force hath flow'd from babies tongue:
Whereby thou stopp'st thine en'mies prating
Bent to revenge and over-hating.

When I upon the heav'ns do look,
Which all from thee their essence took;
When Moon and Starrs, my thoughts beholdeth
Whose life no life but of thee holdeth:

Then thinck I: Ah, what is this man:
Whom that greate God remember can?
And what the race of him descended,
It should be ought of God attended.

For though in lesse then Angells state
Thou planted hast this earthly mate:
Yet hast thou made ev'n hym an owner
Of glorious crown, and crowning honor.

Thou placest hym upon all landes
To rule the workes of thine own handes:
And so thou hast all things ordained,
That ev'n his fēete, have on them raigned.

Thou under his dominion plac't
Both sheepe and oxen wholly hast:
And all the beastes for ever breeding,
Which in the fertill fieldes be feeding.

The Bird, free-burgesse of the Aire,
The Fish, of sea the native heire:
And what things els of waters traceth
The unworn pathes, his rule embraceth.
O Lord that rul'st our mortall lyne,
How through the world thi name doth shine.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM IX.

Confitebor tibi.

With all my hart, ô Lord I will praise thee,
My speaches all thy mervailles shall discry:
In thee my joyes and comfortes ever be
Yea ev'n my songs thy name shall magnify,
ô Lord most hie.

Because my foes to fly are now constrain'd,
And they are fall'n, nay perisht at thy sight:
For thou my cause, my right thou hast maintain'd,
Setting thy self, in throne which shined bright,
Of judging right.

The Gentiles thou rebuked sorely hast,
And wicked folks, from thee to wrack do wend:
And their renown, which seem'd so like to last;
Thou dost put out, and quite consuming send
To endles end.

O bragging foe, where is the endles wast
Of conquer'd states, whereby such fame you gott?
What? doth their memory no longer last?
Both ruines, ruiners, and ruin'd plott
Be quite forgott.

But God shall sitt in his eternall Chaire,
Which he prepar'd to give his judgmentes high:
Thither the world for justice shall repaire:
Thence he to all, his judgments shall apply
Perpetually.

Thou Lord also th' oppressed wilt defend,
That they to thee in troublous tyme may flee:
They that know thee, on thee their trust will bend,
For thou Lord found by them wilt ever be,
That seake to thee.

O praise the Lord, this Syon-dweller good,
Shew forth his actes, and this as act most high:
That he enquiring, doth require just blood,
Which he forgetteth not, nor letteth dy
Th' afflicted cry.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Have mercy, mercy Lord, I once did say,
Ponder the paines which on me loaden be
By them whose mindes on hatefull thoughts do stray :
Thou Lord that from death-gates hast lifted me,
I call to thee.

That I within the portes most bewtifull
Of Sions daughter may sound foorth thi praise:
That I, ev'n I, of heav'nly comfort full
May only joy in all thy saving waies
Through out my daies.

No sooner said, but lo mine enymies sinck
Down in the pitt which they them selves had wrought:
And in that nett which they well hidden think,
Is their own foote, led by their own ill thought,
Most surely caught.

For then the Lord in judgment shoves to raign,
When godlesse men be snar'd in their own snares:
When wicked soules be turned to hellish pain,
And that forgettfull sort, which never cares
What God prepares.

But on the other side, the poore in sprite
Shall not be scrapt, from out of heav'nly score:
Nor meeke abiding of the patient wight
Yet perish shall (although his paine be sore)
For evermore.

Up Lord and judg the Gentiles in thy right,
And lett not man have upper hand of thee:
With terrors greate, ô Lord, doe thou them fright:
That by sharp proofes, the heathen them selves may see
But men to be.

PSALM X.

Ut quid Domine?

Why standest thou soe farre
O God, our only starre,
In time most fitt for thee
To help who vexed be!

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

For lo with pride the wicked man
Still plagues the poore the most he can :
O lett proud hym be throughly caught
In craft of his own crafty thought.

For he him self doth praise
When he his lust doth ease :
Extolling rav'nous gaine,
But doth God's self disdaine.
Nay so proud is his puffed thought,
That after God he never sought :
But rather much he fancies this ;
The name of God a fable is.

For while his waies doe prove,
On them he setts his love :
Thy judgments are to hie,
He can them not espy.
Therefore he doth defy all those ;
That dare them selves to him oppose :
And saieth in his bragging hart,
This gotten blisse, shall never part.

Nor he removed be,
Nor danger ever see :
Yet from his mouth doth spring
Cursing, and cosening
Under his tongue do harbour'd ly
Both mischief and iniquity.
For proof, ofte laine in wait he is
In secrete by-way villages.

In such a place unknown
To slay the hurtlesse one ;
With wincking eies ay bent
Against the innocent.
Like lurking Lion in his den,
He waites to spoile the simple men :
Whom to their losse he still doth gett,
When once he draw'th his wily nett.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

O with how simple look,
He ofte laieth out his hooke!
And with how humble shoves
To trapp poore soules he goes!
Thus freely saith he in his sprite:
God sleepes, or hath forgotten quite,
His farr-of sight now hud-winck is,
He leisure wants to mark all this.
Then rise and come abroad,
O Lord, our only God:
Lift up thy heav'nly hand
And by the silly stand.
Why should the evill, so evill despise
The pow'r of thy through-seeing eyes?
And why should he in hart soe hard
Say, thou dost not thine own regard?
But nak'd before thin eyes
All wrong and mischief lies:
For of them in thy handes
The ballance ev'nly standes.
But who aright poore-minded be
Committ their cause, them selves to thee,
The succour of the succourles
The father of the fatherles.
Breake thou the wicked arme,
Whose fury bendes to harme:
Search them, and wicked he
Will straight way nothing be.
O Lord we shall thy title sing,
Ever and ever, to be king
Who hast the heath'ny folk destroi'd
From out thy land by them anoi'd.
Thou op'nest heav'nly dore
To praiers of the poore:
Thou first prepar'd their mind,
Then eare to them enclind.
O be thou still the Orphans aid,
That poore from ruine may be staid:
Least we should ever feare the lust
Of earthly man, a lord of dust.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XI.

In Domino confido.

Since I do trust Jehova still,
Your fearfull wordes why do you spill
That like a bird to some strong hill
I now should fall a flyeng.
Behould the evill have bent their bow,
And sett their arrowes in a row,
To give unwares a mortall blow
To hartes that hate all lyeng.
But that in building they begunn
With ground-plotts fall, shalbe undunn:
For what, alas, have just men donn?
In them no cause is growing.
God in his holy temple is:
The throne of heav'n is only his
Naught his all-seeing sight can misse;
His ey-lidds peise our going.
The Lord doth search the just mans reynes,
But hates, abhorrs, the wicked braines,
On them stormes, brimstone, coales he raines:
That is their share assigned.
But so of happy other side
His lovely face on them doth bide
In race of life their feete to guide
Who be to God enclined.

PSALM XII.

Salvum me fac.

Lord helpe it is hygh tyme for me to call,
No men are left that charity doth love:
Nay ev'n the race, of good men are decai'd.
Of things vaine with vaine mates they babble all
Their abject lipps, no breath but flattry move
Sent from false hart on double meaning staid.
But thou (ô Lord) give them a thorough fall:
Those lyeng lipps, from cosoning head remove,
In falshood wrapt, but in their pride displaid.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Our tongues, say they, beyond them all shall goe:
We both have pow'r, and will our tales to tell:
For what lord rules our brave emboldned brest?

Ah now ev'n for their sakes, that tast of wo,
Whom troubles tosse, whose natures need doth quell
Ev'n for the sighes, true sighes of man distrest:

I will gett up saith God, and my help show
Against all them, that against hym do swell,
Maugre his foes, I will him sett at rest.

These are Gods wordes, Gods words are ever pure:
Pure, purer then the silver throughly tride,
When fire seav'n tymes hath spent his earthy parts.

Then thou (ô Lord) shalt keepe the good still sure:
By thee preserv'd, in thee they shall abide:
Yea in no age, thy blisse from them departes.

Thou seest each side the walking doth endure
Of these badd folks, more lifted up with pride,
Which if it last, wo to all simple hartes.

PSALM XIII.

Usque quo, Domine?

How long (ô Lord) shall I forgotten be?
What? ever?
How long wilt thou thi hidden face from me
Dissever?
How long shall I consult with carefull sprite
In anguish?
How long shall I with foes triumphant might
Thus languish?
Behold me Lord, let to thy hearing creep
My crying.
Nay give me eyes, and light, least that I sleep
In dying.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Least my foe bragg, that in my ruyne he
 Prevailed:
And at my fall they joy that, troublous, me
 Assailed.
Noe, noe, I trust on thee, and joy in thy
 Greate pitty:
Still therefore of thy graces shalbe my
 Songs ditty.

PSALM XIV.

Dixit insipiens.

The foolish man by flesh and fancy ledd,
 His guilty hart with this fond thought hath fed:
 There is noe God that raigneth.
And so thereafter he and all his mates
 Do workes, which earth corrupt, and Heaven hates:
 Not one that good remaineth.
Even God him self sent down his piercing ey,
 If of this clayy race he could espy
 One, that his wisdom learneth.
And loe, he findes that all a strayeng went:
 All plung'd in stincking filth, not one well bent,
 Not one that God discerneth.
O maddnes of these folkes, thus loosly ledd!
 These Caniballs, who, as if they were bread
 Gods people do devower.
Nor ever call on God; but they shall quake
 More then they now do bragg, when he shall take
 The just into his power.
Indeede the poore, opprest by you, you mock:
 Their councells are your common jesting stock:
 But God is their recomfort.
Ah, when from Syon shall the saver come
 That Jacob freed by thee, may glad become
 And Israel full of comfort?

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XV.

Domine, quis habitabit?

In tabernacle thine ô Lord who shall remaine?

Lord of thy holy hill, who shall the rest, obtaine?

Ev'n he that leades a life of uncorrupted traine,

Whose deedes of righteous hart, whose harty wordes be plain :

Who with deceitfull tongue, hath never us'd to faine,

Nor neighbour hurtes by deede nor doth with slander stain :

Whose eyes a parson vile, doth hold in vile disdaine,

But doth with honor greate, the godly entertaine :

Who othe and promise given, doth faithfully maintain,

Although some worldly losse thereby he may sustain :

From bityng Usury who ever doth refraine :

Who sells not guiltlesse cause for filthy love of gain :

Who thus proceedes for ay in sacred mount shall raign.

PSALM XVI.

Conserva me.

Save me Lord, for why thou art

All the hope of all my hart :

Wittnesse thou my soule with me,

That to God, my God I say ;

Thou my Lord, thou art my stay,

Though my workes reach not to thee.

This is all the best I prove :

Good and godly men I love :

And forsee their wretched paine,

Who to other gods doe runne :

Their blood offrings I do shunne,

Nay to name their names disdaine.

God my only portion is,

And of my childe's part the blisse :

He then shall maintaine my lott.

Say then is not my lott found

In a goodly pleasant ground ?

Have not I faire partage gott?

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Ever Lord I will blesse thee,
Who dost ever counsell me,
Ev'n when night with his black wing
Sleepy darknes doth orecast,
In my inward raines I tast
Of my faultes and chastening.

My eyes still my God regard,
And he my right hand doth guard;
So can I not be opprest,
So my hart is fully gladd,
So in joy my glory cladd,
Yea my flesh in hope shall rest.

For I know the deadly grave
On my soule noe pow'r shall have:
For I know thou wilt defend
Even the body of thine own
Deare beloved holy one,
From a fowle corrupting end.

Thou lifes path wilt make me knowe
In whose view doth plenty growe
All delights that soules can crave
And whose bodies placed stand
On thy blessed-making hand
They all joies like-endless have.

PSALM XVII.

Exaudi Domine justitiam.

My suite is just, just Lord, to my suite hark
I plaine: sweete Lord, my plaint for pittie mark.
And since my lipps faine not to thee,
Thine eares vouchsave to bend to me.

O let my sentence passe from thine own face:
Shew that thine eyes respect a faithfull case.
Thou that by prooffe acquainted art
With inward secretts of my hart.

Where silent night might seeme all faultes to hide,
Then was I, by thy searching insight tride:
And then by thee, was guiltlesse found
From ill word, and ill meaning sound.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Not waighing ought how fleshly fancies runn,
Ledd by thy word, the rav'ners stepps I shunn;
And pray that still you guide my way,
Least yet I slipp, or goe astray.

I say againe that I have cal'd on thee,
And boldly saie thou wilt give eare to me:
Then let my wordes, my cries ascend
Which to thy self my soule will send.

Show then ô Lord, thy wondrous kindnesse show:
Make us in mervailles of thy mercy know,
That thou by faithfull men wilt stand,
And save them from rebellious hand.

Then keepe me as the Aple of an ey:
In thy wings shade then lett me hidden ly,
From my destroyeng wicked foes
Who for my death do me enclose.

Their eies doe swimme, their face doth shine in fatt,
And cruell wordes their swelling tongues do chatt;
And yet their high hartes looke so low
As how to watch our overthrow.

Now like a Lion, gaping to make praies
Now like his whelpe, in denne, that lurking staies:
Up Lord, prevent those gaping jawes,
And bring to naught those watching pawes.

Save me from them, thou usest as thy blade,
From men I say, and from mens worldly trade:
Whose life doth seeme most greatly blest,
And count this life their portion best.

Whose bellies soe with dainties thou dost fill,
And so with hidden treasures graunt their will:
That they in ritches flourish doe,
And children have to leave it to.

What would they more? And I would not their case:
My joy shalbe pure; to enjoy thy face,
When waking of this sleepe of mine
I shall see thee in liknesse thine.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XVIII.

Diligam te.

Thee will I love, O Lord, with all my hartes delight,
My strength, my strongest Rock which my defence hast born :
My God, and helping God, my might, and trustfull might,
My never-pierced shield, my ever-saving horne,
My refuge, refuge then, when moste I am forlorne :
Whom then shall I invoke, but thee most worthy praise,
On whom (against my focs) my only safty staies?

On me the paines of death allready gan to pray :
The fludds of wickednesse on me did horrors throw :
Like in a winding sheete, wretch, I already lay,
All-ready, ready to my snaring grave to goe.
This my distresse to God, with wailefull cries I show :
My cries climb'd up, and he bent down from sacred thron
His eyes unto my case, his eares unto my moane.

And so the earth did fall to tremble and to quake,
The Mountaines proudly high, and their foundations bent
With motion of his rage, did to the bottome shake.
He came, but came with smoake, from out his nostralls sent :
Flames issu'd from his mouth, and burning coales out went ;
He bow'd the heav'ns, and from the bow'd heav'ns did descend
With hugy darknes, which aboute his feete did wend.

The Cherubins their backs, the windes did yeeld their wings
To beare his sacred flight ; in secrete place then clos'd ;
About which he dimme cloudes, like a pavillion brings
Cloudes ev'n of waters dark, and thickest aire compos'd.
But streight his shining eyes this misty masse disclos'd,
Then haile, then fry coales, then thundred heav'nly sire,
Then spake he his lowd voice, then hailstones, coles, and fire.

Then out his Arrowes fly ; and streight they scattred been :
Lightning on lightning he did for their wrack augment :
The gulphes of waters then were through their chanells seen :
The Worlde's foundations then lay bare ; because he shent
With blasting breath ô Lord, that in thy chiding went.
Then sent he from above, and tooke me from below,
Ev'n from the waters depth, my God preserv'd me soe.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

So did he save me, from my mighty furious foe,
So did he save me, from their then prevailing hate:
For they had caught me up, when I was weake in wo:
But he staff of my age: he staid my stumbling state:
This much: yet more, when I by him this freedom gate,
By him because I did find in his ey-sight grace
He lifted me, unto a largely noble place.

My Justice, my just handes thus did the Lord reward,
Because I walk'd his waies, nor gainst him evilly went:
Still to his Judgmentes look't: still for his statutes car'd:
Sound and upright with him, to wickednes not bent.
Therefore I say again, this goodnes he me sent,
As he before his eyes, did see my justice stand:
According as he saw the purenes of my hand.

Meeke to the meeke thou art, the good thy goodnes tast:
Pure, to the pure, thou deal'st with crooked crookedly:
Up then; thou lifts the poore, and downe the proud wilt cast:
Up, thou dost light, my light, and cleare my darkned ey.
I hoastes orecome by thee: by thee ore walles I fly:
Thy way is soundly sure, thy word is purely tride:
To them that trust in thee, a shild thou dost abide.

For who is God besides this greate Jehova oures?
And so besides our God, who is indu'd with might?
This God then girded me in his all-mighty pow'rs,
He made my combrous way, to me most plainly right:
To match with lightfoote Staggs, he made my foote so light,
That I climb'd highest hill; he me warre-pointes did show,
Strength'ning mine armes, that they could breake an Iron bow.

Thou gav'st me saving shield: thy right hand was my stay,
Me in encreasing still, thy kindnesse did maintaine:
Unto my strengthned stepps, thou didst enlarge the way,
My heeles, and plantes, thou didst from stumbling slip sustain:
What foes I did pursue, my force did them attain
That I ere I retorn'd, destroi'd them utterly,
With such brave woundes, as they under my feete did ly.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

For why my fighting strength, by thy strength, strengthned was :
Not I, but thou throwst down those, who gainst me do rise,
Thou gavest me their necks, on them thou mad'st me passe :
Behold they cry, but who to them his helpe applies?
Nay unto thee they cri'd, but thou heardst not their cries :
I bett those folkes as small as dust, which wind doth raise,
I bett them as the clay, is bett, in beaten waies.

Thus freed from mutinn men, thou makest me to raig ;
Yea thou dost make me serv'd by folks I never knew :
My name their cares, their eares their harts to me enchain'd :
Ev'n feare makes strangers shew much love, though much untrue.
But they do faile, and in their mazed corners rue :
Then live Jehova still, my Rock still blessed be :
Lett hym be lifted up, that hath preserved me.

He that is my reveng, in whom I Realmes subduc ;
Who freed me from my foes, from Rebells garded me :
And ridd me from the wronges which cruell witts did brew.
Among the Gentiles then I (Lord) yeeld thancks to thee,
I to thy name will sing, and this my song shall be :
He nobly saves his king, and kindnes keepes in store,
For David his anoint and his seed evermore.

PSALM XIX.

Cæli enarrant.

The heav'nly frame, sett's foorth the fame
Of him that only thunders :
The firmament so strangely bent
Showes his hand-working wonders.

Day unto day, it doth display,
Their course doth it acknowledg :
And night to night succeeding right
In darknes teach cleare knowledg.

There is no speach, nor language, which
Is soe of skill bereaved :
But of the skies the teaching cries
They have heard and conceived.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

There be no eyne, but read the line
From soe faire booke proceeding:
Their wordes be sett in letters greate
For ev'ry bodies reading.

Is not he blind that doth not find
The tabernacle builded
There by his grace, for sunnes faire face
In beames of beuty guilded!

Who fourth doth come, like a bridgroom
From out his vailing places:
As gladd is hee, as Giances be
To runne their mighty races.

His race is ev'n, from endes of heav'n
About that vault he goeth:
There be no Reames hid from his beames
His heate to all he throweth.

O law of his, how perfect tis
The very soule amending
Gods wittnes sure, for ay doth dure
To simplest, wisdom lending.

Gods doomes be right, and cheere the sprite:
All his commandments being
So purely wise, as give the eies
Both light, and force of seeing.

Of him the feare, doth cleannes beare
And soe endures for ever:
His Judgments be self verity
They are unrighteous never.

Then what man would, so soone seeke gold
Or glittering golden money?
By them is past, in sweetest tast
Honny, or combe of honny.

By them is made, thy servantes trade
Most circumspetly guarded:
And who doth frame, to keepe the same
Shall fully be rewarded.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Who is the man, that ever can
His faultes know and acknowledg!
O Lord clense me, from faultes that be
Most secret from all knowledg.

Thy servant keepe, lest in him creepe
Presumptuous sinnes offences:
Let them not have, me for their slave,
Nor raigne upon my sences.

Soe shall my sprite be still upright
In thought and conversation;
Soe shall I bide, well purifide
From much abhomination.

Soe lett wordes sproong, from my weake tongue
And my hartes meditation,
My saving might, Lord, in thy sight
Receave good acceptation.

PSALM XX.

Exaudiat te Dominus.

Lett God, the Lord heare thee,
Even in the day, when most thy troubles be:
Let name of Jacobs God,
When thou on it dost cry,
Defend thee still from all thy foes abroad.

From sanctuary hy
Let him come downe, and helpe to thee apply
From Sions holy topp
Thence lett him undertake
With heav'nly strength thy earthly strength to propp.

Lett him notorious make,
That in good part he did thy offerings take.
Let fire for triall burne
(Yea fire from him self sent)
Thy offerings, soe, that they to ashes turne.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

And soe lett him consent
To graunt thy will, and perfect thy entent
That in thy saving we
May joy, and banners raise
Up to our God, when thy suites graunted be.
Now in me knowledg saies,
That God from fall his own annointed staies.
From heav'nly holy land
I know that he heares thee;
Yea heares with powres, and helps of helpfull hand.
Lett trust of some men be
In Charriotts arm'd, others in Chivalry:
But lett all our conceite
Upon Gods holy name,
Who is our Lord, with due remembrance waite.
Behold their broken shame!
We stand upright, while they their fall did frame.
Assist us Saviour deere;
Lett that king daine to heare,
When as to him our praiers do appeare.

PSALM XXI.

Domine in virtute.

New joy, new joy unto our king,
Lord, from thy strength is growing:
Lord what delight to him doth bring
His safty, from thee flowing!
Thou hast giv'n what his hart woulde have,
Nay soone as he but moved,
His lipps to crave, what he would crave,
He had as him behoved.
Yea thou prevent'st ere aske he could,
With many lib'rall blessing.
Crown of his head with Crown of gold
Of purest mettall dressing.
He did but aske a life of thee,
Thou him a long life gavest:
Loe ev'n unto eternity
The life of hym thou savest.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

We may well call his glory greate,
That springs from thy salvation:
Thou, thou it is, that hast hym sett
In soe high estimation.

Like storehouse thou of blessings mad'st
This man of everlasting:
Unspekably his hart thou gladst,
On hym thy count'naunce casting.

And why all this? because our king
In heav'n, his trust hath laied:
He only leanes on highest thing,
Soe from base slipp is staid.

Thy hand thy foes shall overtake,
That thee so evill hated:
Thou as in fyery ov'n shalt make
These mates to be amated.

The Lord on them with causfull ire
Shall use destroyeng power:
And flames of never-quenched fire
Shall these badd wightes devower.

Their fruite shalt thou from earthly face
Send unto desolation:
And from among the humane race
Roote out their generation.

For they to overthrow thy will
Full wilyly entended:
But all their bad mischevous skill
Shall fruitlessly be ended.

For like a mark thou shalt a row
Sett them in pointed places:
And ready make thy vengfull bow
Against their guilty faces.

Lord in thy strength, Lord in thy might,
Thy honor high be raised
And so shall in our songs delight
Thy power still be praised.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XXII.

Deus Deus meus.

My God, my God, why hast thou me forsaken?
Wo me, from me, why is thy presence taken?
Soe farre from seeing, mine unhealthfull eyes:
Soe farre from hearing to my roaring cries.

O God, my God, I crie while day appeareth:
But God thy eare, my cryeng never heareth.
O God the night, is privie to my plaint
Yet to my plaint, thou hast no audience lent.

But thou art holy and dost hold thy dwelling
Where Israell thy lawdes is ever telling
Our fathers still to thee their trust did beare;
They trusted, and by thee delivered were.

They were sett free, when they upon thee called,
They hop'd on thee, and they were not appalled.
But I a worrne not I of mannkind am,
Nay shame of men, the peoples scorning game.

The lookers now at me, poore wretch, be mocking,
With mowes, and nodd, they stand about me flocking.
Let God help him (say they) whom he did trust:
Lett God save hym in whom was all his lust.

And yet even from the wombe thy selfe did'st take me:
At mothers breasts, thou did'st good hope betake me.
No sooner my child eyes could looke abroade,
Then I was giv'n to thee, thou wert my God.

O be not farre, since paine so neerly presseth,
And since there is not one, who it redresseth.
I am enclos'd with yong Bulls madded rowt
Nay Basan mighty Bulls close me about.

With gaping mouthes, these folkes, on me have chardged,
Like Lions fierce, with roaring jawes enlarged.
On me all this, who do like water slide,
Whose loosed boanes quite out of joynt be wri'd.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Whose hart, with these huge flames, like wax oreheated
Doth melt away, though it be inmost seated:
My moist'ning strength is like a pottsherd dride,
My cleaving tongue, close to my rooffe doth bide.

And now am brought, alas, brought by thy power
Unto the dust of my deathes running hower:
For bawling doggs, have compast me about,
Yea worse then doggs, a naughty wicked rowt.

My humble handes, my fainting feete they pearced:
They looke, they gaze, my boanes might be rehearsed
Of my poore weedes they do partition make,
And doe cast lotts, who should my vesture take.

But be not farre ô Lord, my strength my comfort,
Hasten to help me, in this deepe discomfort.
Ah from the sword, yet save my vitall sprite,
My desolated life from dogged might.

From Lions mouth (ô help) and show to heare me
By aiding, when fierce Unicornes come neere me
To brethern then, I will declare thy fame,
And with these wordes, when they meete, praise thi name.

Who feare the Lord, all praise and glory beare hym
You Israells seed, you come of Jacob, feare hym.
For Hee hath not abhor'd, nor yet disdain'd
The silly wretch, with fowle affliction stain'd.

Nor hid from him his faces faire appearing.
But when he cal'd, this Lord did give hym hearing:
In congregation greate, I will praise thee:
Who feare thee shall my vowes performed see.

Th' afflicted then shall eate, and be well pleased:
And God shalbe, by those his seakers praised.
Indeede ô you, you that be such of mind,
You shall the life, that ever-liveth find.

But what? I say from earthes remotest border
Unto due thoughts, mannkind his thoughts shall order
And turne to God, and all the Nations be
Made worshippers, before allmighty thee.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

And reason, since the Crowne to God pertaineth,
And that by right upon all Realmes he raigneth.
They that be made, ev'n fatt, with earthes fatt good
Shall feede, and laud the giver of their food.

To him shall kneele even who to dust bee stricken,
Even hee whose life, no helpe of man can quicken
His service shall from child to child descend,
His doomes one age shall to another send.

PSALM XXIII.

Dominus regit me.

The Lord, the Lord my shepherd is,
And so can never I
Tast missery.

He rests me in greene pasture his:
By waters still, and sweete
Hee guides my feete.

Hee me revives: leades me the way,
Which righteousness doth take,
For his names sake.

Yea though I should through valleys stray,
Of deathes dark shade, I will
Noe whitt feare ill.

For thou deere Lord, thou me besett'st:
Thy rodd, and thy staff be
To comfort me

Before me thou a table sett'st,
Even when foes envious ey
Doth it espy.

Thou oil'st my head thou fill'st my cupp:
Nay more thou endlesse good,
Shalt give me food.

To thee, I say, ascended up,
Where thou, the Lord of all,
Dost hold thy hall.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XXIV.

Domini est terra.

The Earth is Gods, and what the globe of earth containeth,
And all who in that globe doe dwell:

For by his pow'r, the land upon the Ocean raigneth,
Through him the fludds to their bedds fell.

Who shall clime to the hill, which Gods own hill is named?
Who shall stand in his holy place?

He that hath hurtles handes, whose inward hart is framed
All purnesse ever to embrace.

Who shunning vanity and workes of vainesesse leaving
Vainly doth not puff upp his mind,
Who never doth deceave, and much lesse his deceaving
With perjury doth falsly bind.

A blessing from the Lord, from God of his salvation
Sweete rightuousnesse shall he receive,
Jacob this is thy seede, God seeking generation,
Who search of Gods face never leave.

Lift up your heades you gates; and you dores ever biding:
In comes the king of glory bright.
Who is this glorious king? in might and power riding?
The Lord, whose strength makes battailes fight.

Lift up your heades you gates, and you dores ever biding:
In comes the king of glory bright.
Who is this glorious king? the lord of armies guiding
Even he the king of glory hight.

PSALM XXV.

Ad te, Domine.

To thee ô Lord most just;
I lift my inward sight:
My God in thee I trust
Lett me not ruine quight:
Lett not those foes, that me annoy,
On my complaint build up their joy.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Sure, sure, who hope in thee,
Shall never suffer shame:
Lett them confounded be
That causlesse wrongs doe frame.
Yea Lord to me thy waies doe show;
Teach me, thus vext, what path to goe.

Guide me as thy truth guides;
Teach me for why thou art
The God in whom abides
The saving me from smart.
For never day such changing wrought,
That I from trust in thee was brought.

Remember, only king,
Thy mercies tendernesse:
To thy remembrance bring,
Thy kindnesse, lovingnesse.
Let those things thy remembraunce grave,
Since they eternall essence have.

But Lord remember not
Sinns brew'd in youthfull glasse:
Nor my rebellions blott,
Since youth and they do passe.
But in thy kindnes me record
Ev'n for thy mercies sake, ô Lord.

Of grace and righteousness
The Lord such plenty hath:
That he deignes to expresse
To sinning men his path.
The meeke he doth in judgment leade,
And teach the humble how to tread.

And what thinck you, may be
The pathes of my greate God?
Ev'n spottlesse verity
And mercy spreadd abroad,
To such as keepe his covenant
And on his testimonies plant.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

O Lord for thy name sake,
Lett my iniquity
Of thee some mercy take,
Though it be greate in me:
Oh, is there one with his feare fraught?
He shalbe by best teacher taught.

Lo how his blessing budds
Inward, an inward rest;
Outward, all outward goodes
By his seede eke possest.
For such he makes his secrett know,
To such hee doth his cov'nant show.

Where then should my eyes be,
But still on this Lord sett?
Who doth and will sett free
My feete from tangling nett.
O look, ô help lett mercy fall,
For I am poore, and least of all.

My woes are still encreast;
Shield me from these assaultes:
See how I am opprest,
And pardon all my faultes.
Behold my foes, what stoare they be,
Who hate, yea hate me cruelly.

My soule which thou didst make,
Now made, ô Lord, maintaine:
And me from these ills take,
Lest I rebuke sustaine.
For thou, the Lord, thou only art
Of whom the trust lives in my hart.

Lett my uprightnes gaine
Some safty unto me:
I say, and say againe,
My hope is all in thee.
In fine, deliver Israel
O Lord, from all his troubles fell.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XXVI.

Judica me, Domine.

Lord judge me and my case
For I have made my race
Within the boundes of innocence to bide :
And setting thee for scope
Of all my trustfull hope ;
I held for sure ; that I should never slide.
Prove me ô Lord most high,
Me with thy touch-stone try :
Yea sound my reynes, and inmost of my hart.
For so thy loving hand
Before my eyes did stand,
That from thy truth will not depart.
I did not them frequent,
Who be to vainesse bent,
Nor kept with base dissemblers company.
Nay I did ev'n detest
Of wicked wights the neast,
And from the haunts of such bad folks did fly.
In th' innocence of me
My handes shall washed be ;
And with those handes, about thy Alter waite.
That I may still expresse
With voice of thanckfullnes
The works perform'd by thee, most wondrous greate.
Lord, I have loved well
The howse where thou dost dwell,
Ev'n where thou mak'st thy honnors biding place.
Sweete Lord, write not my soule,
Within the sinners rowle :
Nor my lifes cause, match with blood-seekers case.
With handes of wicked shifts
With right hands stain'd with gifts
But while I walk in my unspotted waies
Redeeme and show mee grace
So I in publique place
Sett on plaine ground will thee Jehovah praise.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XXVII.

Dominus illuminatio.

The shining Lord he is my light :
The strong God my salvation is.
Who shall be able me to fright?
This Lord with strength my life doth blisse :
And shall I then
Feare might of men !
When wicked folke even they that be,
My foes, to uttmost of their pow'r
With raging jawes inviron me,
My very flesh for to devow'r :
They stumble so,
That down they go.
Then though against me armies were,
My courage should not be dismaid :
Though battailes brunt, I needes must beare,
While battailes brunt, on me were laid,
In this I would
My trust still hold.
One thing in-deede I did, and will
For ever crave : that dwell I may
In howse of high Jehova still,
On beuty his mine eyes to stay,
And looke into
His temple too.
For when greate griefes to me be ment,
In tabernacle his he will
Hide me, ev'n closly in his tent :
Yea noble height of rocky hill
He makes to be
A seate for me.
Now, now, shall he lift up my head
On my beseeking enimies :
So shall I sacrifices spread ;
Offerings of joy in temple his :
And song accord,
To praise the Lord.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Heare Lord when I my voice display,
Heare to have mercy eake of me.
Seeke yee my face, when thou did'st say,
In truth of hart I answr'd thee,
O Lord I will
Seeke thy face still.
Hide not therefore from me that face;
Since all my aid in thee I gott:
In rage, thy servaunt doe not chase;
Forsake not me, ô leave me not,
O God of my
Salvation hy.
Though fathers care and mothers love
Abandon'd me, yet my decay
Should be restor'd by hym above.
Teach Lord, Lord leade me thy right way,
Because of those
That be my foes.
Unto whose ever-hating lust
Oh! give me not; for there are sprong
Against me wittnesses unjust,
Even such I say whose lyeng tongue
Fiercely affordes,
Most cruell wordes.
What had I been, except I had
Beleev'd Gods goodnes for to see,
In land with living creatures cladd?
Hope, trust in God, be strong, and hee
Unto thy hart
Shall joy impart.

PSALM XXVIII.

Ad te Domine.

To thee, Lord, my cry I send:
O my strength stopp not thine eare:
Least if answeare thou forbear;
I be like them that descend
To the pitt, where flesh doth end.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Therefore while that I may cry,
While I that way hold my handes
Where thy Sanctuary standes:
To thy self those wordes apply,
Which from suing voice do fly.
Linck not me in self same chaine,
With the wicked working folk:
Who their spotted thoughtes to cloak,
Neighbours frendly entertaine,
When in hartes they malice meane.
Spare not them, give them reward,
As their deedes have purchas'd it,
As deserves their wicked witt:
Fare they, as their handes have far'd:
Ev'n so be their guerdon shar'd.
To thy workes they give no ey:
Lett them be thrown down by thee:
Lett them not restored be.
But lett me give praises hy
To the Lord, that heares my cry.
That God is my strength, my shield:
All my trust on him was sett,
And soe I did safely gett.
Soe shall I with joy be fil'd,
Soe my songues his laudes shall yeeld.
God on them his strength doth lay,
Who his annointed helped have.
Lord then still thy people save;
Blesse thine heritage I say,
Feede and lift them up for ay.

PSALM XXIX.

Afferte Domino.

Ascribe unto the Lord of light,
Yee men of pow'r ev'n by birth-right
Ascribe all glory and all might.
Ascribe due glory to his name;
And in his ever-glorious frame
Of Sanctuary doe the same.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Hys voice is on the waters found,
His voice doth threatning thunders sound,
Yea through the waters doth resound.
The voice of that Lord ruling us
Is strong, though hee be gracious,
And ever, ever glorioues.
By voice of high Jehova we
The highest Cedars broken see,
Ev'n Cedars which on Liban be.
Nay like yong Calves, in leapes are born;
And Liban self with natures skorn:
And Shirion, like yong Unicorn.
His voice doth flashing flames deuide;
His voice have trembling desertes tride;
Ev'n deserts, where the Arabs bide.
His voice makes hindes their calves to cast:
His voice makes bald, the forrest wast:
But in his Church his fame is plast.
He sits on seas, he endlesse raignes
His strength his peoples strength maintaines,
Which blest by him in peace remaines.

PSALM XXX.

Exaltabo te Domine.

O Lord thou hast exalted me;
And sav'd me from foes laughing scorn:
I ow thee praise, I will praise thee.
For when my hart with woes was torn,
In cries to thee, I shew'd my cause:
And was from ill by thee upborne.
Yea from the Graves most hungry jawes
Thou would'st not sett me on their scoare,
Whom death to his cold boozome drawes.
Praise, praise this Lord then evermore
Ye saints of his, remembring still
With thancks his holinesse therefore.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

For quickly endes his wrathfull will,
But his deere favour where it lies,
From age to age life joyes doth fill.
Well may the evening cloath the eies
In cloudes of teares, but soone as sunne
Doth rise againe, new joyes shall rise.
For proof, while I my race did runne
Full of successe, fond I did say,
That I should never be undonne,
For then my hill good God did stay :
But ah, he straight his face did hide,
And what was I but wretched clay?
Then thus to thee I prayeng cride,
What serves alas, the blood of me
When I with in the pitt doe bide?
Shall ever earth give thancks to thee?
Or shall thy truth on mannkind laid
In deadly dust declared be?
Lord heare, lett mercy thine be staid
On me, from me helpe this annoy.
This much I said, this beeing said,
Lo I that wail'd, now daunce for joy :
Thou did'st ungird my dolefull sack,
And mad'st me gladsome weedes enjoy.
Therefore my tongue shall never lack
Thy endless praise: ô God my king
I will thee thancks for ever sing.

PSALM XXXI.

In te Domine speravi.

All, all my trust, Lord, I have putt in thee,
Never therefore, lett me confounded be,
But save me, save me in thy righteousness.
Bow down thine eare; to heare how much I need :
Deliver me, deliver me in speed :
Bee my strong Rock, be thou my fortresse.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

In deede thou art my Rock, my fortresse:
Then since my tongue, delights, that name to blesse,
Direct me how to goe, and guide me right.
Preserve me from the wyly wrapping nett,
Which they for me, with privie craft have sett:
For still I say thou art my only might.

Into thy handes, I doe commend my spright:
For it is thou, that hast restor'd my light:
O Lord that art the God of verity.
I hated have those men, whose thoughtes do cleave
To vanities: which most trust, most deceave:
For all my hope fixt upon God doth ly.

Thy mercy shall fill me with jolity,
For my annoies have come before thine ey:
Thou well hast known what plung my soule was in.
And thou hast not for ay enclosed me
Within the hand of hatefull enmity:
But hast enlarg'd my feete from mortall ginn.

O Lord of thee, lett me still mercy wyne;
For troubles, of all sides, have me within:
My ey, my gutts, yea my soule grief doth wast.
My life with heavines, my yeares with moane.
Doe pine: my strength with paine is wholly gon:
And ev'n my boanes consume, where they be plast.

All my feirce foes reproach on me did cast:
Yea neighbours more, my mates were so agast,
That in the streetes from sight of me they fledd:
Now I, now I my self forgotten find,
Even like a dead man, dreamed out of mind,
Or like a broken pott, in myre tredd.

I understand what railing greate men spredd:
Feare was each where, while they their counsell ledd
All to this point, how my poore life to take
But I did trust in thee, Lord I did say,
Thou art my God, my time on thee doth stay:
Save me from foes, who seeke my bane to bake.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Thy face to shine upon thy servaunt make,
And save me in, and for thy mercies sake;
Lett me not tast of shame, ô Lord most hy.
For I have cal'd on thee; let wicked folk
Confounded be; and passe away like smoak;
Lett them in bedd of endlesse silence dy.

Lett those lipps be made dumb, which love to ly :
Which full of spight, of pride, and cruelty
Doe throw their wordes against the most upright.
Oh, of thy grace what endlesse pleasure flowes
To whom feare thee? what thou hast donne for those
That trust in thee, ev'n in most open sight?

And when neede were, from pride in privie plight
Thou hast hidd them; yet leaving them thy light
From strife of tongues, in thy pavilions plast.
Then praise, then praise I doe the Lord of us
Who was to me more then most gracious
Farre farre more sure, then walls most firmly fast.

Yet I confesse in that tempestious hast,
I said, that I from out thy sight was cast :
But thou didst heare, when I to thee did moane
Then love the Lord all ye that feelee his grace :
Who paires the proud, preserves the faithfull race,
Be strong in hope, his strength shall you supply.

PSALM XXXII.

Beati, quorum.

Blessed is hee whose filthy staine
The Lord with pardon doth make cleane,
Whose fault well hidden lieth.
Blessed in deede to whom the Lord
Imputes not sinnes to be abhord,
Whose spirit falshood flieth.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Thus I prest down with weight of paine,
Whether I silent did remaine,
Or roar'd, my boanes still wasted.
For soe both day and night did stand
On wretched me, thy heavie hand,
My life hott tormentes tasted.

Till my self did my faultes confesse;
And opened mine own wickednes,
Whereto my hart did give me:
So I my self accus'd to God,
And his sweete grace streight eas'd the rodd,
And dyd due paine forgive me.

Therefore shall every godly one
In fitt time make to thee his moane,
When thou wilt deigne to heare hym.
Sure, sure the flood of strayeng streames,
How ever they putt in their claimes,
Shall never dare come neere hym.

Thou art my safe and secrett place,
Who savest me from troublous case,
To songs and joyfull bidding.
But who so will instructed be,
Come, come the way I will teach thee;
Guide thee by my eyes guiding.

Oh, be not like a horse, or Mule
Wholy devoide of reasons rule;
Whose mouthes thy self dost bridle:
Knowing full well, that beastes they be,
And therefore soone would mischief thee,
If thou remained'st idle.

Woes, woes shall come to wicked folkes.
But who on God, his trust, invokes,
All mercies shalbe swarmed.
Be gladd you good, in God have joy,
Joy be to you, who doe enjoy
Your hartes with cleernesse armed.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XXXIII.

Exultate justi.

Rejoyce in God, O ye
That righteous be :
For cheerefull thanckfullnesse
It is a comly part
In them, whose hart
Doth cherish rightfullnesse.
O praise with hart the Lord,
O now accord
Vialls with singing voice :
Lett tenne string'd instrument
O now be bent
To wittnes you rejoyce.
A new, sing a new song
To him most strong,
Sing lowd and merrily :
Because that word of his,
Most righteous is
And his deedes faithfull be.
Hee righteousness approves
And judgment loves :
Gods goodnesse fills all landes.
His word made heav'nly coast,
And all that hoast
By breath of his mouth stands.
The waters of the seas
In heapes he laies,
And depthes in treasure his,
Lett all the earth feare God :
And who abroad
Of world a dweller is.
For he spake not more soone :
Then it was done :
He bade, and it did stand.
He doth heathen councill breake,
And maketh weake
The might of peoples hand.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

But ever, ever shall
His counsell all
Through-out all ages last.
The thinckings of that mind
No end shall find
When Times, tymes shalbe past.

That Realme indeede hath blisse,
Whose God he is,
Who him for their Lord take:
Even people that, ev'n those,
Whom this Lord chose
His heritage to make.

The Lorde lookes from the sky:
Full well his ey
Beholdes our mortall race.
Even where he dwelleth he,
Through-out doth see
Who dwell in dusty place.

Since he their hartes doth frame,
He knowes the same:
Their workes hee understandes.
Hoasts doe the king not save;
Nor strong men have
Their help from mighty handes.

Of quick strength is an horse
And yet his force,
Is but a succour vaine:
Who trusts hym sooner shall
Catch harmefull fall
Then true deliveraunce gayn.

But lo, Jehovas sight
On them doth light
Who him do truly feare:
And them who do the scope
Of all their hope
Upon his mercy beare.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID

His sight is them to save
Ev'n from the grave,
And keepe from famynes paine.
Then on that Lord most kind
Fix we our mynd,
Whose shield shall us maintayne.
Our hartes sure shall enjoy
In hym much joy
Who hope on his name just.
O lett thy mercy greate
On us be sett,
We have no plea, but trust.

PSALM XXXIV.

Benedicam Domino.

I, even I will allwaies
Give harty thancks to hym on high
And in my mouth contynnually
Inhabit shall his praise.
My soule shall glory still
In that deere Lord with true delight:
That hearing it the hartes contrite
May learne their joyes to fill.
Come then and joyne with me;
Somwhat to speake of his due praise:
Strive we, that in some worthy phraze
His name may honor'd be.
Thus I beginne; I sought
This Lord, and he did heare my cry:
Yea and from dreadfull misery
He me, he only brought.
This shall menns fancies frame
To looke and runne to hym for aide,
Whose faces on his comfort staid
Shall never blush for shame.
For lo this wretch did call,
And lo his call, the skies did clime:
And God freed hym in his worst tyme
From out his troubles all.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

His Angells armies round

About them pitch, who hym do feare :
And watch, and ward for such do beare,
To keepe them safe and sounde.

I say but tast and see,
How sweete how gracious is his grace :
Lord hee is in thrice blessed case
Whose trust is all on thee.

Feare God, ye saintes of his,
For nothing they can ever want
Who faithfull feares in hym do plant :
They have, and shall have blisse.
The Lions ofte lack foode,
Those raveners whelpes oft starved be :
But who seeke God with constancy
Shall neede nought that is good.

Come children lend your eare
To me and mark what I do say :
For I will teach to you the way
How this our Lord to feare
Among you, who is heere,
That life and length of life requires
And blessing such, with length desires,
As life may good appeare.

Keepe well thi lipps and tongue ;
Least inward ills doe them defile :
Or that by wordes, enwrapt in guile
Another man be stong.
Doe good, from faultes declyne,
Seeke peace, and follow after it :
For Gods own eyes on good-men sitt,
And eares to them enclyne.

Soe his high heavenly face
Is bent, but bent, against those same
That wicked be, their very name
From earth quite to displace.
The just when harmes app[r]oach,
Do cry, their cry of hym is heard :
And by his care from them is barr'd
All trouble, all reproach.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

To humble broken myndes,
This Lord is ever, ever neere :
And will save whome his sight cleere
In spirit afflicted findes.
Indeede the very best
Most greate and greevous paines doth beare :
But God shall him to safty reare,
When most hee seemes opprest.

His boanes he keepeth all,
So that not one of them is broke ;
But malice shall the wicked choak,
Who hate the good shall fall.
God doth all soules redeeme
Who weare his blessed livery :
None I say still, shall ruin'd be,
Who hym their trust esteeme.

PSALM XXXV.

Judica, Domine.

Speake thou for me, against wrong speaking foes :
Thy force O Lord against their force oppose.
Take upp thy shield and for my succour stand
Yea take thy launce and stoppe the way of those
That seeke my bane ; O make me understand
In sprite, that I shall have thy helping hand.

Confounde those folks, thrust them in shamfull hoale
That hunt so poore a pray, as is my soule.
Rebuke, and wrack, on those wrong-doers throw
Who for my hurt, each way their thoughtes did roule.
And as vile chaff, away the wind doth blow,
Lett Angell thine, a scatt'ring make them goe.

Lett Angell thine pursue them as they fly
But lett their flight be dark, and slippery
For causles they, both pitt, and nett did sett :
For causles they, did seeke to make me dy :
Lett their sly witts unwares destruction gett :
Fall in self pitt, be caught in their own nett.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Then shall I joy in thee, then sav'd by thee
I both in mind, and boanes shall gladdened be.
Ev'n boanes shall say (ô God) who is thy peere?
Who poore and weake, from ritch, and strong dost free.
Who helpst those, whose ruine was so neere,
From him whose force did in their spoiles appeere.

Who did me wrong, against me wittnesse beare,
Layng such things, as never in me weare:
So my good deedes they pay, with evill share
With cruell mindes, my very soule to teare.
And whose? ev'n his, who when they sicknes bare,
With inward woe, an outward sack-cloth ware.

I did pull down my self, fasting for such,
I praid, with praiers, which my brest did touch:
In summe I shew'd, that I to them was bent
As brothers, or as freendes beloved much.
Still, still, for them I humbly moorning went,
Like one that should, his mothers death lament.

But lo, soone as they did me stagg'ring see,
Who joy but thei, when they assembled be?
Then abjects, while I was unwitting quite
Against me swarme, ceaslesse to raile at me
With scoffers false, I was theyr feasts delight,
Even gnashing teeth, to wittnesse more their spight.

Lord wilt thou see, and wilt thou suffer it?
Oh; on my soule, let not these tumults hitt.
Save me distrest, from Lions cruell kind.
I will thanck thee, where congregations sitt,
Even where I do most store of people find,
Most to thy laudes will I my speeches bind.

Then, then lett not my foes unjustly joy:
Let them not fleere, who me would caules stroy.
Who never word of peace yet utter would,
But hunt with craft the quiett mans annoy.
And said to me, wide mowing, as they could:
A, ha: Sir, now we see you, where we should.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

This thou hast seene: and wilt thou silent be?
O Lord doe not absent thi self from me:
But rise, but wake, that I may judgment gett.
My Lord, my God, ev'n to my equity,
Judg Lord: judge, God, ev'n in thy justice greate:
Lett not their joy, upon my woes be sett.
Lett them not, Lord, within their harts thus say:
O soule rejoyce, we made this wretch our pray.
But throw them down, put them to endles blame,
Who make a cause to joy, of my decay.
Lett them be cloth'd, with most confounding shame,
That lift them selves my ruine, for to frame.
But make such gladd and full of joyfullnesse;
That yet beare love, unto my righteousnesse:
Yet, let them say, laud be to God allwaies,
Who loves with good, his servaunts good to blesse.
As for my tongue, while I have any daies,
Thy justice wittnesse shall, and speake thy praise.

PSALM XXXVI.

Dixit injustus.

Me thincks amidd my hart I heare;
What guilty wickednes doth say,
Which wicked folkes doe holde soe deare:
Even thus it self, it doth display,
No feare of God, doth once appeare,
Before his eyes that soe doth stray.
For those same eies, his flatterers be,
Till his known ill do hatred gett:
His wordes, deceit, iniquity
His deedes: yea thoughts all good forgett.
A bedd on mischief, muzeth he,
Abroad his stepps be wrongly sett.
Lord how the heav'ns thy mercy fills?
Thy truth above the cloudes most hy:
Thy righteousnesse like hugest hills,
Thy judgments like the deepes do ly.
Thy grace with safty man fulfills,
Yea beastes, made safe, thy goodenesse try.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

O Lord how excellent a thing
Thy mercy is; which makes mannkind
Trust in the shadow of thy wing.
Who shall in thy house fattnesse find,
And drinck from out thy pleasures spring
Of pleasures past, the reach of mind.

For why, the well of life thou art
And in thy light, we shall see light.
O then extend thy loving hart
To them, that know thee, and thy might:
O then thy righteousness impart
To them, that be in soules upright.

Lett not proud feete make me their thrall;
Lett not ill handes, discomfit me;
Lo there, I now foresee their fall;
Who doe ill workes: loe I do see
They are cast down, and never shall
Have powre againe, to raised be.

PSALM XXXVII.

Noli æmulari.

Frett not thy self, if thou do see
That wicked men do seeme to flourish:
Nor envy in thy bozome nourish
Though ill deedes well succeeding be.

They soone shalbe cutt down like grasse;
And wither like greene hearb or flower:
Do well, and trust on heav'nly power,
Thou shalt have both good food and place.

Delight in God, and he shall breede
The fullnesse of thy own hartes lusting:
Guide thee by him, lay all thy trusting
On hym, and he will make it speed.

For like the light he shall display
Thy Justice, in most shining lustre:
And of thy judgment make a mustre
Like to the glory of noone day.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Waite on the Lord with patient hope;
Chafe not at some manns greate good fortune:
Though all his plotts without misfortune,
Attaine unto their wished scope.

Fume not, rage not, frett not I say;
Least such thinges synne in thy self cherish:
For those bad folks, at last shall perish:
Who stay for Godd, in blisse shall stay.

Watch but a while, and thou shalt see
The wicked by his own pride banisht:
Looke after him, he shalbe vanisht,
And never found againe shalbe.

But meeke men shall the earth possesse;
In quiett home they shalbe planted:
And this delight to them is granted,
They shall have peace in plenteousnesse.

Evill men, work ill to uttmost right,
Gnashing their teeth full of disdayning:
But God shall scorne, their moody meaning
For their short time is in his sight.

The evill bent bowes, and swordes they drew,
To have their hate on good soules wroken:
But lo, their bowes they shalbe broken,
Their swordes, shall their own hartes embrew.

Small goodes in good men better is,
Then of bad folkes the wealthy wonder:
For wicked armes shall breake asunder,
But God upholdes the just in blisse.

God keepes accompt of good menns daies,
Their heritage shall last for ever:
In perill they shall perish never,
Nor want in dearth, their want to ease.

Badd folkes shall fall, and fall for ay:
Who to make warre, with God presumed,
Like fatt of lambes shalbe consumed:
Ev'n with the smoake shall wast away.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

The naughty borrowes, payeng not;
The good is kind, and freely giveth.
Loe, whom God blest, hee blessed liveth :
Whom he doth curse, to naught shall rott.

The mann whom God directs, doth stand
Firme on his way, his way God loveth :
Though he doth fall no wrack he proveth :
He is upheld by heav'nly hand.

I have beene yong now old I am,
Yet I the man that was betaken
To Justice, never saw forsaken :
Nor that his seede a begging came.

He lendes, he gives, more he doth spend,
The more his seede in blessing flourish :
Then fly all ill, and goodnes nourish,
And thy good state, shall never end.

God loving right doth not forsake
His holy ones; they are preserved
From tyme to tyme, but who be swarved
To ill, both they and theirs shall wrack.

I say, I say the righteous mindes
Shall have the land in their possessing,
Shall dwell thereon, and this their blessing
No time within his limitts bindes.

The good mouth will in wisdom bide,
His tongue of heav'nly Judgments telleth :
For Gods high law in his hart dwelleth,
What coms thereof? he shall not slide.

The wicked watch the righteous much,
And seeke of life for to bereave him :
But in their hand God will not leave him,
Nor lett him be condempn'd by such.

Waite thou on God, and keepe his way,
He will exalt thee unto honor :
And of the earth make thee an owner,
Yea thou shalt see the evill decay.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

I have the wicked seene full sound,
Like lawrell fresh him self out-spreading:
Lo hee was gon, print of his treading,
Though I did seeke, I never found.

Marke the upright, the just attend:
His ende shalbe in peace enjoyed:
But straiers vile, shalbe destroyed,
And quite cutt of with helplesse end.

Still, still the godly shalbe staid
By Gods most sure, and sweete salvation:
In time of greatest tribulation
He shalbe their true strength and aid.

He shalbe their true strength and aid,
He shall save them from all the fetches
Against them us'd, by wicked wretches:
Because on him their trust is laid.

PSALM XXXVIII.

Domine ne in furore.

Lord, while that thy rage doth bide,
Do not chide:
Nor in anger chastise me,
For thy shafts have peirc'd me sore;
And yet more
Still thy hands upon me be.

No sound part caus'd by thy wrath
My flesh hath:
Nor my synns lett my boanes rest.
For my faults are highly spredd
On my hedd,
Whose foule weights have me opprest.

My woundes putrify, and stinck,
In the sinck
Of my filthy folly laid:
Earthly I do bow and crook,
With a look
Still in moorning cheere araid.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

In my Reynes hott torments raignes,
There remains
Nothing in my bodie sound.
I am weake and broken sore,
Yea I roare,
In my hart such grieve is found.

Lord before thee I do lay
What I pray:
My sighes are not hid from thee
My hart pants, gon is my might,
Even the light
Of myne eyes abandons me.

From my plague, kinne, neighbour, frend
Farre of wend:
But who for my life do waite,
They lay snares, they nimble be,
Who hunt me,
Speaking evill, thincking deceite.

But I like, a mann become,
Deafe and dumb,
Little hearing, speaking lesse,
I even as such kind of wight,
Senclesse quite,
Word with word do not represe.

For on the, Lord, without end
I attend:
My God, thou wilt heare my voice
For I said, heare, least they be
Gladd on me,
Whome my fall doth make rejoyce.

Sure I do but halting goe,
And my woe
Still my orethwart neighbour is.
Lo I now to moorne beginne
For my sinne,
Telling mine iniquities.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

But the while, they live and grow
In greate show.

Many, mighty, wrongfull foes:
Who do evill for good, to me
Enimies be,
Why? because I vertue chose.

Do not Lord, then me forsake,
Doe not take
Thy deere presence farre from me,
Haste ô Lord, that I be staid
By thy aid,
My salvation is in thee.

PSALM XXXIX.

Dixi custodiam.

Thus did I thinck, I well will marke my way,
Least by my tongue I happ to stray.
I musle will my mouth, while in the sight
I do abide of wicked wight.
And so I nothing said, but muett stood,
I silence kept, even in the good.

But still the more that I did hold my peace,
The more my sorrow did encrease.
The more me thought, my hart was hott in me,
And as I mus'd such world to see,
The fire, tooke fire, and forcibly out brake;
My tongue would needes and thus I spake:

Lord unto me my times just measure give,
Show me how long, I have to live:
Lo thou a spanns length, mad'st my living line.
A spanne? nay nothing in thine eyne.
What do we seeke? the greatest state I see,
At best is meerly vanity.

They are but shades, not true things where we live:
Vaine shades, and vaine, in vaine to grive.
Looke but on this: man still doth ritches heape,
And knowes not, who the fruite shall reape.
This beeing thus, for what ô Lord waite I?
I wait on thee, with hopefull ey.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

O helpe, ô helpe me; this farre yet I crave,
From my transgressions me to save.
Lett me not be throwne down, to so base shame,
That fooles of me, maie make their game.
But I doe hush, why do I say thus much?
Since it is thou that mak'st one such.

Ah! yet from me lett thy plagues be displac'd,
For with thy handy stroakes I wast.
I know that manns fowle sinne doth cause thy wrath
For when his sinne thy scourging hath,
Thou moath-like makes his bewty fading be;
Soe what is manne, but vanity?

Heare Lord my suites, and cries: stopp not thine eares
At these my wordes all cloth'd in teares:
For I with thee; on earth a stranger am,
But baiting, as my fathers came.
Stay then thy wrath, that I maie strength receave,
Ere I my earthly beeing leave.

PSALM XL.

Expectans expectavi.

While long I did with patient constancy,
The pleasure of my God attend,
He did him self to me-ward bend,
And harkned how and why that I did cry.
And me from pitt bemired
From dungeon he retired,
Where I, in horrors lay:
Setting my feete upon
A steedfast rocky stone;
And my weake steps did stay.

Soe in my mouth he did a song affoord,
New song unto our God of praise:
Which many seeing hartes shall raise
To feare with trust, and trust with feare the Lord.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Oh, he indeede is blessed
Whose trust is so addressed:
Who bendes not wandring eyes
To greate mens peacock pride,
Nor ever turnes a side
To follow after lies.

My God thy wondrous workes how manyfold!
What manne thy thoughts can count to thee?
I faine of them would speaking be;
But they are more then can by me be told.
Thou sacrifice nor offering
Burnt offering, nor sinne offering
Didst like much lesse did'st crave:
But thou didst peirce my eare;
Which should thie leassons beare;
And wittnesse me thy slave.

Thus bound I sayd loe Lord I am at hand
For in thy bookes rowle, I am writt.
And sought with deedes, thy will to hitt,
Yea Lord thy law within my hart doth stand:
I to greate congregation,
Thou know'st, made declaration
Of this sweete righteousness:
My lipps shall still reveale,
My hart shall not conceale
Thy truth, health, graciousnes.

Then, Lord from me, draw not thy tender grace:
Me still in truth, and mercy save.
For endlesse woes, me compast have,
So prest with synnes, I cannott see my case.
But triall well doth teach me;
Fowle faultes sore paines do reach me;
More then my head hath heares.
So that my surest part,
My life-maintaining hart,
Failes me, with ougly feares.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Vouchsave me helpe ô Lord and helpe with hast:
Lett them have shame, yea blush for shame;
Who joyntly sought, my bale to frame:
Lett them be curst away that would me wast.
Lett them with shame be cloied,
Yea lett them be destroyed,
For guerdon of their shame:
Who-so unpittious be;
As now to say to me;
A ha! this is good game.

But fill their hartes with joy, who bend their waies,
To seeke thy bewty past conceite,
Lett them that love thy saving seate,
Still gladly say, unto our God be praise.
Though I in want be shrincking,
Yet God on me is thincking.
Thou art my help for ay,
Thou only thou art he,
That dost deliver me;
My God, ô make noe stay.

PSALM XLI.

Beatus qui intelligit.

Hee blessed is who with wise temper can
Judg of th' afflicted man.
For God shall him deliver in the tyme,
When most his troubles clime.
The Lord will keepe his life yet safe & sound
With blessings of the ground.
And will not him unto the will expose,
Of them that be his foes.

When bedd from rest becoms his seate of woe,
In God his strength shall grow:
And turne his couch, where sick he couched late,
To well recovered state.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Therefore I said in most infirmity,
Have mercy Lord on me :
O heale my soule lett there thy cure beginne,
Where gainst thee lay my sinne.

My foes evill wordes, their hate of me display,
While thus alas they say :
When, when will death oretake this wretched wight,
And his name perish quite ?
Their curteous vissittings, are courting lyes
They inward evils disguise,
Even heapes of wicked thoughts, which streight they show
As soone as out they goe.

For then their hatefull heades, close whispring be,
With hurtfull thoughts to me
Now he is wrackt, say they, loe there he lies,
Who never more must rise.
O, yea my frend, to whome I did impart
The secretts of my hart.
My freend, I say, who at my table sate,
Did kick against my state.

Therefore ô Lord, abandon'd thus of all,
On me lett mercy fall :
And raise me up, that I may once have might,
Their meritts to requite :
But what? this doth already well appeare
That I to thee am deere :
Since foes, nor have, nor shall have cause to be
Triumphing over me.

But triumph well may I, whome thou do'st stay
In my sound rightfull way :
Whom thou (ô place of places all) do'st place
For ay before thy face.
Soe then be blest now, then, at home, abroad,
Of Israell the god :
World without end, lett this his blessing flow,
Oh soe; oh be it soe.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

PSALM XLII.

Quemadmodum.

As the chafed hart which braieth,
Seeking some refreshing brooke:
So my soule in panting plaieth,
Thirsting on my God to looke.
My soule thirsts indeede in mee
After ever-lyving thee.
Ah when comes my blessed beeing,
Of thy face to have a seeing!
Day and night my teares out-flowing
Have been my ill feeding food:
With their daily questions throwing;
Where is now, thy God soe good?
My hart melts remembering soe,
How in troupes I woont to goe:
Leading them, his praises singing,
Holy daunce to Gods howse bringing.
Why art thou my soule soe sory,
And in me soe much dismaid?
Waite on God for yet his glory
In my songue shalbe displaid.
When but with one looke of his
He shall me restore to blisse:
Ah my soule it self appalleth;
In such longing thoughtes it falleth.
For my mynd on my God bideth,
Ev'n from Hermons dwelling ledd,
From the groundes where Jordan slideth,
And from Myzars hilly hedd.
One deepe with noise of his fall
Other deepes of woes doth call:
While my God, with wasting wonders
On me wretch his tempest thunders.
All thy floodes on me abounded,
Over me all thy waves went:
Yet thus still my hope is grounded,
That thy anger beeing spent,

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

I by day thy love shall tast :
I by night shall singing last :
Prayeng, praiers still bequeathing
To my God, that gave me breathing.

I will say ô Lord my tower,
Why am I forgott by thee?
Why should grieve my hart devower
While the foe oppresseth me?
Those vile scoffs of naughty ones
Wound and rent me to the bones :
When foes aske with fowle deriding
Where is now your God abiding?

Why art thou my soule soe sory,
And in me soe much dismaid?
Waite on God for yet his glory
In my songe shalbe displaid.
To him my thancks shalbe said,
Who is still my present aid :
And in fine my soule be raised,
God is my God, by me praised.

PSALM XLIII.

Judica me Deus.

Judge of all, judge me
And protector be
Of my cause oppressed
By most cruell sprites;
Save me from bad wights,
In false coullers dressed.

For my God thy sight
Giveth me my might,
Why then hast thou left me?
Why walk I in woes?
While prevailing foes
Have of joyes bereft me?

THE PSALMS OF DAVID.

Send thi truth and light,
Let them guid mee right
From the pathes of folly :
Bringing me to thy
Tabernacle hy,
In thy hill most holly.

To Godds Alters tho
Will I boldly goe ;
Shaking of all saddnes ;
To that God that is
God of all my blisse,
God of all my gladdnes.

Then loe, then I will
With sweete musicks skill
Gratfull meaning show thee :
Then God, yea my God,
I will sing abroad
What greate thancks I ow thee.

Why art thou my soule
Cast down in such dole ?
What ailes thy discomfort ?
Waite on God, for still
Thanck my God, I will,
Sure aid, present comfort.



A Woorke

concerning the trew-
nesse of the Christian
Religion, written
in French:

Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes,
Mahumetists, and other Infidels.

By Philip of Mornay Lord of
Plessie Marlie.

Begunne to be translated into English by Sir
Philip Sidney Knight, and at his request
finished by Arthur Golding.

Imprinted at London for Thomas
Cadman. 1587.



The Preface to the Reader.

IT is the ordinarie matter of Prefaces, to declare first of all the apparant profit, or rather necessitie that mooveth them to undertake anie worke. But I to my great grieve, doo thinke my selfe discharged of that paine, in this cace. For he that shall but read the title of this booke, *Of the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, if he list to call to remembrance how manie blasphemies he heareth howerly against God and his word; how manie despisers of Religion he meeteth with at every step; and how great either coldnesse in the things which they ought to follow most wholie, or doubting in the things which they ought to beleieve most stedfastlie, he findeth even in those which professe the Christian godlinesse: shall by and by answer and yeeld the reason of himselfe, why I have taken this worke in hand, more needfull now adaies (yea even (which I am ashamed to saie) among those which beare the name of Christians) than ever it was among the verie Heathen and Infidels. Some busie themselves so much about their pleasures, that they can never find anie leisure, not to mount up unto God, but onelie so much as to enter into themselves: in somuch that they be more strangers to their owne nature, to their owne Soules, and to the things which concerne them most neerelie and peculiarie, than they bin either to the deserts of Inde, or to the Seas that are worst to be haunted & least knowen. That is the verie welspring of the Atheists, who (to speake rightlie of them) offend not through reasoning, but for want of reasoning; nor by abusing of reason, but by drowning of reason, or rather by bemiring it in the filthie and beastlie pleasures of the world. Othersome match their pleasures with malice, and to make short waie to the attaine-ment of goods or honour, doo overreach and betraie othermen, selling their freends, their kinsfolke, yea and their owne soules, & not sticking to do anie evill, that may serve their turne, never alledging or pretending honestie or conscience, but to

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their owne profit. Of such kind of stuffe are the Epicures made, who bicause they feele their minds guiltie of so many crimes, do thinke themselves to have escaped the Justice and providence of GOD by denying it. And of these we may say, that their reason is caried away and overmaistered by the course of the world, wherunto it is whollie tied, so as they can have none other course or discourse than his.

Some go yet a litle further, both in respect of God, and of themselves. They thinke there is a God, and that of him man hath received an immortall soule: that God governeth all things, and that man ought to serve him. But forasmuch as they see both Gentiles and Jewes, Turkes and Christians in the world, and in diverse nations diverse Religions, whereof every one thinketh he serveth God, and that he shall find salvation in his owne Religion: These (like men at a stoppe where many waies meet,) in steed of choosing the right way, by the judgement of reason, do stand still amazed, and in that amazement conclude that all comes to one, as who would say, that South and North lead both to one place. But soothly, if they applied their wit as advisedly to judge betweene truth and falshood, godlinesse and worldlinesse, as every man in his trade doth to judge betweene profit and losse: they should foorthwith by principles bred within themselves, and by conclusions, following upon the same, discern the true Religion from the false: and the way which GOD hath ordeined to welfare, from the deceitfull bywaies and from the crosse and crooked inventions of men. What shall I say of the most part of us? Of us I meane which beleve the Gospell and professe the Christian Religion, and yet live as though we beleevd it not? Which preach the kingdome of heaven, and have our groynes ever wrooting in the ground? Which wil needes seeme and bee taken to be Gods children and coheire with Christ, children of so rich a father and heires of so goodly an inheritance, and yet doo scarsly thinke earnestly upon it once in a whole yeare, but are readie to forsake it every howre, for lesse than a messe of grewell and a bit of bread? Surely wee may well say then, that if ever it were needefull, it is needefull at this time to waken such as are asleepe, to bring backe such as are gone astraie, to lift up such as are sunke downe, and to chafe them a heat which are waxed cold.

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And that is to bee done by painting out the true Religion lively before their eyes, with the joy, happines, and glorie which insue thereupon, to the intent that the voluptuous may seeke their joy, the covetous their gaine, and the ambitious their glorie there, bending themselves with their whole hearts unto that alone, which all onely can fill their harts, and satisfie their desires.

That is the thing which I indevor to doo in this worke, and GOD of his gracious goodnesse vouchsafe to guide my hand, to his owne glorie and to the welfare of those that are his. But afore I enter into the matter, I have to answere unto two sortes of people. The one arc such as say that Religion cannot bee declared unto Infidels or unbeleevvers by reason. The other sorte are those whiche uphold, that although reason doo somewhat inlighten it, yet it is neyther lawfull nor expedient to doo it. But let us see what reason they can have, to exclude reason from this discourse. The first sort say, It is to no purpose to dispute against such as denie grounded principles. And by this meanes, because one grounded principle is denied them, they breake of quite and cleane, as though all meane of conference were taken awaie. Surelie this principle of theirs is very true, but yet (in my judgement) it is very ill understood. I graunt it is to no purpose to dispute against such as denie grounded principles, by the same principles which they denie: That is very true. But there may be some other principles common to both sides, by the which a man may profitably dispute with them, and by those common principles oftentimes proove and verifie his owne principles. And that is the thing which I intend to doo in this worke. As for example; The Christian groundeth himselfe upon the Gospell; the Jew denieth it: and therefore it were to no purpose to alledge it unto him. But both the Jew and the Christian have one common principle and ground, which is the old Testament: By this may the Christian profitably dispute against the Jew; yea evē to the verifying of the gospel, as if ye should make one to call some mā to his knowledge, by the draughts or descriptions of his portraiture. Likewise the Jew is grounded upon the old Testamēt, which the Gentile would mocke at if he should alledge it unto him. But both the Gentile and the

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Jew have one common nature, which furnisheth them both with one common Philosophie, and with one common sort of principles; as that there is one God which governeth all things; that he is good, and no author of evill; That he is wise, and doth not anie thing in vaine. Also that man is borne to be immortall; that to be happie he ought to serve God and continew in his favour. And therewithall, that he is subject to passions, inclined to evill, weake unto good and so forth. Of these common principles, the Jew maie draw necessarie conclusions, which the Gentile shall not perceive at the first, like as when a man understandeth a proposition, but conceiveth not yet the drift and consequence thereof. He that marketh that the Adamant or Loadstone pointeth to the North, perceiveth not foorthwith that by the same a man maie goe about the world, although he was of capacitie to conceive it. After the same maner, by this principle: *He that from equall things taketh equall things, leaveth the remainder equall*; and by a few other propositions which children learne in playing; the Mathematician leadeth us gentlie (and ere we be aware of anie mounting) unto this so greatlie renowned proposition and experiment of Pythagoras, *that in a Triangle, the side that beareth up the right Angle, yeeldeth a square equall to the other twaine*, which at the first sight seemeth unpossible, and yet by degrees is found to be so of necessitie. Thus shall the Jew by common principles and conclusions, verifie his owne ground which is the old Testament. For he shall prove unto the Gentiles by their owne Philosophers, that unto God alone, things to come are present, and that unto Spirits they be knowen but onelie by conjecture, and so farre forth as they can read them in the starres. And he shall prove by their Astrologers, that the names of men and the circumstances of their doings cannot be betokened nor red in the starres. And he shall prove by their Historiographers, that the bookes of the old Testament, which containe so manie and so perticular prophesies, were written manie hundred yeares afore the things came to passe. Now what will reasonable insue hereof, but the prooffe of the principle which is in controversie, by the principles which are agreed upō betweene them both: namelie that the old Testament is of God, seing it cannot be from anie other. And what else is

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all this, than that which is commonlie done in Geometrie and Logicke, which by two lines or by two propositions that are cōmonlie knowen & certeine, do gather a third proportion that was unknowen, or a third proposition (that is to saie a conclusion) that was erst either doubted of or hidden, and by meanes of the other two is evidentlie found out, and necessarilie proved. Such are these proofes against the Atheists: nothing hath moving of it selfe. It is nature that saith so. The world turneth about, and the heavenlie bodies have a moving: and that doth man himselfe see. Therefore they must needs be moved by some other power and that is the Godhead; which our eie seeth not, and yet by means of the eie, our reason conceiveth and perceiveth it in all things. Against them which denie Christes Godhead, [we alledge this principle of their owne.] That naturally of nothing nothing is made. It is the saying of Aristotle, and the schooles would have him by the eares that should denie it. Jesus Christ hath of nothing made verie great things, yea even contraries by contraries. The Heathen wonder at it, all ages crie it out, our eies do still behold it. He that will denie this; must denie the world, he must denie all things, he must denie himselfe. It followeth then that Christ wrought by a powre, that is mistresse of Nature. Aristotle himselfe saw it not, and yet Aristotle maketh us to see it. The writers of Histories tooke no heed of it; and yet they themselves make us to beleieve it. The Philosopher thought but onelie upon nature, and the Historiographer but onelie upon his owne writing. And yet from both twaine of them, wee drawe both the Godhead of Christ, and the truth of our Scriptures: Certesse in like manner as by Arithmetike, out of two and sixe wee draw out one continuall proportionable line hidden after a sort in either of them, and yet greater than both of them together, which is Eighteene: & as out of two sticks chafed one against another, we draw out fire which is not seene in the two, the consuming of thē both out of hand. To be short, the marke that our faith looketh at, is the Author of Nature & principle of all principles. The rules therefore & the principles of Nature which he hath made cannot be contrarie unto himselfe. And he is also the verie reason and truth it selfe. All other reason then, & all other truth dependeth upon him, & relieth upon

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him, neither is there, or can there be any reason or truth but in him: So far off is it, that the thing which is trewe and reasonable in nature, is or can be false in Divinitie, which (to speake properly) is not against nature, but against the corruption of nature, and in verie deede above nature.

Nowe come I consequently to the other sort, which say that although it bee possible in some sorte; yet the faith (that is to say, the Christian doctrine) ought not to be proved or declared by reason: And their reason is, because it consisteth in manie things which exceed the capacitie of man, & therefore that he which should measure them by reason, shoulde diminish the dignitie and greatnes of them. Surely I will say more for them than they require: namely, that mans reason is so farre off from being the measurer of faith, which very far exceedeth nature, that it is not so much as the measurer of nature, & of the least creatures which lie farre underneath man; because of the ignorance and untowardnes which is in us and raigneth in us. But in this they deceive themselves, that they imagine us to upholde, that wee should beleieve no further than reason can measure & comprehend. For what a great way doth the truth of thinges extend further than mans reason? But we say that mans reason is able to lead us to that point; namely, that we ought to beleve even beyond reason, I meane the things whereunto all the capacitie of man cannot attaine. And likewise, that when things are revealed unto us, which reason could never have entered into nor once imagined, no not even when it was at the soundest; the same reason (which never could have found them out) maketh us to allow of them: the reason I say (whereunto those mysteries were invisible afore) maketh them credible unto us: surely even after the same maner that our eye maketh us to see that in the visible things, which we ought to beleve of the invisibles without the which the visible could have no beeing: that is to wit, the invisible God, by the visible Sonne, & also to see many things when the Sun is up, which were hidden afore in darknesse: not that the eie-sight was of lesse force, or that thing it selfe lesse visible afore: but because the Sonne is now up, which lighteneth the aire with his brightnes, which is of the meane both wherby the eie seeth, & wherby the thing is seen. As for example, we beleieve that there is one else is

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the Father, the Son, & the holy Ghost. This is the article which they oppose against us, & therefore doe I take the very same. This article cānot in any wise fal within the cōpasse of understāding, & much lesse be cōprehended by mans reason. But yet doth reasō lead us to the said point, that there is a God: that he hath created man to live for ever: that whereas man hath stepped out of the way, to followe his owne sway, he reformeth him again by his word: That this word (as I have said already heretofore) is the olde and newe Testament, which conteine thinges that cannot proceed from creatures. Heere Reason stayeth, & holdeth it selfe contented. For seeing that God speaketh, it becommeth man to holde his peace: and seeing that hee vouchsafeth to teache us, it becommeth us to beleewe. Nowe wee reade this doctrine in Gods foresaid bookes, yea oftentimes repeated. Lo how Reason teacheth us that which she her selfe neither knewe nor beleewed, namely by leading us to the teacher, whom we ought to heare and beleewe; and to the booke wherein he vouchsafeth to open himselfe unto us, in giving us infallible markes and tokens, whereby to discern what commeth of God, and what commeth not of him. But when Reason commeth to the reading of the doctrine, and is perswaded thereof; then she awaketh, and if the Gentile refuse it as impossible and repugnant to reason and truth, then steppeth she forth stoutly, and marketh the likenesse thereof in nature, the images thereof in her selfe to set it foorth, and the Recordes of the Gentiles themselves to incounter them withall.

Also she findeth out solutions of their arguments, and aunswers to their absurdities. For surely all truth cannot be sufficiently proved by reason, considering that many thinges exceede reason and nature. But yet cannot any untruth prevayle by reason against truth; nor any truth bee vanquished by the judgement of reason. For untruth is contrary to nature, nature helpeth reason, reason is servaunt to truth; and one truth is not contrary to another, that is to say, to it selfe. For truth cannot be but truth, and Reason, reason.

The like may wee say of the incarnation of the Sonne of God, that no man could of himselfe have imagined it, nor as now also conceive it: and yet notwithstanding, that reason is able both to teach it us, and to defende it. What will she

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say then to us in this behalfe? That the workes which JESUS wrought could not proceede, neither from a man, nor from a devil, nor from an Angell considered in their severall kindes, but onely from God the maker of heaven and earth. And this will she prove unto us, both in the respect of the history, and in respect of the kindes of his workes, as well by the Historiographers and Philosophers who were enemies to Christ and his doctrine, as by conclusions of necessitie conveyed from the principles which remaine in the natures of every of them. And what will ensue thereof, but that Jesus woorking by the power of God, was sent of God, and therefore ought to bee heard and beleaved? Beleaved (say I) to bee God the sonne of God, because hee sayth it; and to bee man borne of woman, because the world sawe him to be so; & that otherwise he should be an enemy to God, and God an enemy to mankind; God (I say) too good to assist him with his power to our overthrowe, and too wise to lend him his spirit, to the defacing of his owne glory? But if ungodlines stirre coales; Reason will open her mouth and shewe, that it was agreeable to Gods Justice, and necessary for mans welfare; possible to the power of the creator, and agreeable to his wil and promises; behooffull for our basenes, and be seeming his glorie. And even in ungodlines it selfe she will find wherewith to put ungodlines to silence, howbeit that even in all godlines, she findeth not wherewith to speake thereof sufficiently. The same is to bee understood of other like misteries, which shalbe treated of in their due places. And this bringeth us backe againe to the saide point, that the truth beeing revealed, enlighteneth reason; and that reason rowseth up her selfe to rest upon truth. And so farre off is Reason from abasing fayth, to make us attaine thereto, that contrariwise she lifeth us up as it were upon her shoulders, to make us to see it, and to take it for our guide, as the onely thing that can bring us to God; and the onely schoolemistresse of whome we ought to learne our salvation. To bee short, we say not that because Reason comprehendeth not this or that, therefore lette us not beleieve it: for that were a measuring of Fayth by Reason, as they say. But wee say that Reason and Nature have such a Rule, and that that is the common way, and yet notwithstanding, that this thing or that thing

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is done or spoken beyond reason and beyond nature. I say then that the worke and word of God are an extraordinarie case, & that forasmuch as they are of God, it behoveth us to beleeve them; and to beleeve is to submit our reason and understanding to him. And so it is a making of reason servant to faith by reason, and a making of reason to stoope to the highnesse of faith: and not an abasing of faith to the measure of reason.

Now forasmuch as we take reason to our helpe against the Infidels, the proofes which she shall yeeld unto us to guide us to the doctrine and schoole of faith, shalbe chiefly of two sorts; namely, Arguments & Records. The Arguments which we will use against the Jewes, we will take out of the grounds of the Jewish Religion, the majestie of God, the nature and state of man, and the most evident and best authorised principles or conclusions among them. Against the Gentiles, wee will take them out of their substantiallest Rules, out of the most renowned Authors of Philosophie, and out of the expositions of their owne most approved Interpreters; one while abiding upon their principles, & another while standing upō the conclusions which they themselves do gather of them, & sometimes drawing such necessarie consequents and sequeales out of them my selfe, as they oftentimes perceived not, as though they had not understood what they themselves spake. Also against either of them, wee will judge of the cause by his effects, and of the effects by their cause; of the end, by the instrument or moover thereto, and of the mover, by the end, & so forth of other things: which are the strongest arguments that can be, as which are either demonstrative, or very neere demonstrative. At a word, we will not alledge any argument which shall not be substantiall, or at leastwise which we shall not thinke to be so, neither will wee urge any thing whereof we be not thoroughly perswaded in our selves: choosing alway the evidentest & easiest that we can, to apply our selves to all mens capacities. Notwithstanding, let not any man looke here for arguments that may bee felt, as that I should prove fire to be hotte by touching it, or the mysteries of GOD and Religion by the outward sence: but let it suffice him that mine argumentes shal bee fully as apparant, and commonly more apparant, than the argumentes which the Philosophers alledge in naturall things. Howbeit

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that *Aristotle* would have men to looke for argumentes of lesse force at his hande in his first Philosophie, then in his discourses of naturall thinges; and for reasons of lesse force in his morales (so they be likely,) than in his first & highest Philosophie: which thing we may with much better right require in the thinges that surmount both nature and man, that is to witte, in Divinitie. Moreover, oftentimes heere shall bee questions propounded to unfold, or objections made to bee confuted, which might trouble the Reader if he were not satisfied in them, or else breake off the continuance of our proofes. And in them I shal be compelled now and then to be obscure, either by reason that the nature of the thing depending in controversie, may perchance bee of some old forworne opinion, or els in respect of the tearmes peculiar to the case, which may hap to be lesse understood of the common sorte, and more diffuze, and lesse pithie in our language, wherein such things have not hitherto bene treated of. Neverthelesse, I hope to take such paines in the opening of them that the Reader whosoever he be, if he take any heede at all, shall easily attaine to the understanding of them.

As touching the Records, they shalbe (in my judgement) of the worthiest sort, and such as are least to be suspected or refused, as neere as I can choose. We be to declare our doctrine unto men, & men themselves are a part of the doctrine which we set foorth. And what more clearenesse can there bee, than to make themselves parties in the prooffe, Judges in their own case, and witnesses against themselves? Unto men therefore we will bring the witnessings of men, even the things that everie man readeth in his owne nature, and in his owne heart, from whence hee uttereth them either wittingly or unwittingly, as things that are so written there, that he cannot wyepe them out though he would never so faine. These are common insightes, or insets (as a man may tearme them) namely the perswasion of the Godhead, the conscience of evill, the desire of immortalitie, the longing for felicitie, and such other thinges, which in this neather world are incident unto man alone, and in al men, without the which a man is no more a man; insomuch that hee cannot deny them except he be out of his wittes, nor cal them in question without belying of himself wrongfully. And hereof

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proceedeth the agreeable consent of all mankind in certaine beleefes which depend immediatly upon the said Principles; which consent we ought to hold for certaine and undoubted. For the universalnesse of this consent sheweth that it is nature, and not instruction, imitation, or bringing up, that speaketh, & the voice of nature is the voice of truth. As for lying or untruth, it is a foundling, & not a thing bred; a meere corruption, and not a fruit of nature. Nevertheless, whether it were thorough ignorance which hath as good as choked thẽ, or through frowardnesse which hath turned reason a wrong way & made man as a stranger to himselfe: those common and generall Insets have remained barren in the most part of men. Yet notwithstanding some men in sundrie nations have mounted above the common rate, and indeavored to cherish and advaunce the said Insights, and drawen some small sparkes of truth and wisdom out of them, as out of some little fire raked up under a great heape of ashes; the which they have afterward taught unto others, and for so doing have bene called Sophies and Philosophers, that is to say, Wise men and lovers of wisdom. These also doo we take for witnesses of our doctrine; and amongst them, the notablist and such as the world hath esteemed to be wisest. And wheresoever they shall disagree, either one with another, or with themselves; there shall common reason be Judge. And like as they have caught some sparkes from the fire, so will we kindle a fire of their sparkes: howbeit (in verie deed) not to lead us to salvation the haven of our life; for in that behalfe we have neede of God himselfe to be our Pilote: but to shew us as it were from a Tower; which way it standeth in the darke wherin we now be, to the end we may call to God for helpe, and ever after make thitherward with all our whole hart. Particularly against the Atheists and Epicures, we will bring themselves, the world, & the creatures therein for witnesses. For those are the Records which they best love and most beleefe, & from the which they be lothest to depart. Against the false naturalists [that is to say professors of the knowledge of nature and naturall things] I will alledge nature it selfe, the Sectes that have sought out nature, & such writers in every Sect, as they hold for chiefe Disciples, Interpreters, and Anatomists or Decipherers of nature; as

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Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, the Academikes and Peripatetikes both old and new, and speciallie such as have most stoutly defended their owne Philosophie, and impugned our doctrine; as *Iamblich, Plotin, Porphirie, Procle, Simplicie*, and such others: whose depositions or rather oppositions against us, I thinke men will wonder at.

Against the Jewes I will produce the old Testament, for that is the Scripture whereto their fathers trusted, and for the which they have suffered death, & whereby they assure themselves of life. And for the interpreting thereof, I will alledge their Paraphrasts, & those which translated it into the Greeke and Chaldey tongues afore the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ. For they were Jewes borne, of the notablest men among them, chosen by publike authoritie to translate it, and at that time reason was not so intangled with passions, as it hath bene since. Also I will alledge their ancient doctors, dispersed as well in their Cabales as in their Talmud, which are their bookes of greatest authoritie and most credit. And diverse times I will interlace the Commentaries of their late writers, which generally have bene most contrarie to the Christen doctrine, whom (notwithstanding) the truth hath compelled severally to agree, in expounding the Texts whereon the same is chiefly grounded.

Now in these allegations I shall sometimes be long, and peradventure tedious to the Reader, whome manifest reason shall have satisfied already, so as (to his seeming) there needed not so manie testimonies. But I pray him to beleieve, that in this longnesse of mine, I straine my nature to apply myselfe to all men; knowing that some like better of Reasons, and othersome of Testimonies; and that all men (notwithstanding that they make more account of the one than of the other) are best satisfied by both, when they see, both reason authorised by witnesses, (for that is as much to say, as that many men had one selfe same reason) and also Recordes declared by reason; for that is as much to say, as that credit is not given to the outward person, but to the divine thing which the person hath within him, that is to wit, to Reason. Herewithall I thought also, that all men have not either the meane to come by all bookes, or the leysure to read them; whose labour I have by that meane eased. And oftentimes I am driven to

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doo that in one Chapter; whereof others have made whole volumes.

To conclude, I pray the Reader, first to read this booke throughout, for without mounting by degrees, a man cannot attaine to high things; and the breaking of a ladders steale casteth a man backe, & maketh the thing wearisome which was easie. Secondly I desire him to bring his wit rather than his will, to the reading thereof. For foredeemings and foresetled opinions doo bring in bondage the reason of them that have best wits; wheras notwithstanding, it belongeth not to the will to overrule the wit, but to the wit to guide the will. Thirdly and most of all I beseech him to beare alwaie in mind that I am a man, and among men, one of the least; that is to say, that if I satisfie him not in all points, my reason attaineth not everiewhere so far as truth doth; to the end that mine ignorance and weakenesse prejudice not the case, mine undertaking whereof, in good sooth is not upon trust of mine owne wit, or of mine owne abilitie; but upon assured trust of the cleernesse, soundnesse, substantialnesse, and soothnesse thereof.

Now God vouchsafe to shead out his blessing upon this worke, and by the furtherance thereof to glad them that beleeeve, to confirme them that waver, & to confute them which go about to shake downe his doctrine. This is the onely pleasure that I desire, the onely fruit which I seeke of my labour. And (to say the truth) I feele already some effect and contentment thereof in my hart. But lette us praie him also to vouchsafe in our daies, to touch our stonie harts with the force of his spirit, and with his owne finger to plant his doctrine so deeply in them, as it may take roote and bring forth fruit. For certesse it is Gods worke to perswade and win men, albeit that to counsell them, yea and to moove them, seemeth in some sort to lie in man.

OF THE TREWNES

OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

The first Chapter.

That there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.

SUCH as make profession to teach us, doo say they never finde lesse what too say, then when the thing which they treat of is more manifest and more knowne of it selfe, then all that can bee alledged for the setting forth thereof. And such are the principles of all the Sciences, and specially of the certeynest, as which consist in Demonstration. ‘The whole’ (will *Eucljde* say) ‘is greater then his part. And if from equall things ye take equall things, the Remynder shall be equall.’ This is rather perceived of every man by commō sence, then proved by sharpnesse of Reason. And like as they that would goe about too prove it, doo shewe themselves worthie to bee laughed at, as which should take upon them to enlighten the Sunne with a Candle: so they that deny it, doe shewe themselves to bee wranglers and unworthie of all conference, as contenders against their owne mother wit, yea and against their owne confession; according to this common saying of the Schooles, That there is no reazoning against those which deny the Principles. Now, if there bee any matter wherein this Rule is found trew; it is most peculiarly in this, that there is a God. For it is so many waies and so lively paynted forth in all things, and so peculiarly ingraven in mans hart; that all that ever can bee devized, sayd, and written thereof, is much lesse then that which is sēne thereof every where, and which men feelee thereof in themselves. If yēe looke upward, yēe see there infinite bodies and infinite movings; divers, and yet not trubling one another. If yēe looke downward, yēe see the Sea continually threatening the Earth, and yet not passing his bounds: and likewise the Earth altoogither heavie and massie, and yet notwithstanding

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settled or rather hanged in y^e Ayre, so as it stirreth not awhit. These bodies direct us incontinently too a Spirit, and this orderlines too a certeine Governer; forsomuch as it is certeine in nature, that bodies have of themselves no moving, and that even those bodies which are quickened, could not agréed stedfastly either with other bodies or with themselves, but by the ordering and governing of a Superiour. But when wée enter afterward intoo our selves, and finde there an abridgement of the whole universall; a bodie fit for all sorts of movings, a Soule which (without removing) maketh the bodies too moove which way it listeth; a Reazon therein which guydeth them everychone in their dooings; and yet notwithstanding, this Soule too bée such as wée can neither see it nor conceive it: It ought in all reazon too make us all too understand, that in this great universall masse, there is a soveraine Spirite which maketh, mooveth, and governeth all that wée see there; by whom wée live, move, and bée; who in our bodies hath framed a Counterfet of the whole world, and in our Soules hath ingraven an image of himself. This is it that caused one auncient Philosopher too say, that whereas our eyes cannot pearce unto God; he suffereth himselfe too bée felt with our hands: And another too say, that the very first use of Reazon, is employed in conceiving the Godhead; not properly by knowing it, but as it were by feeling it, which is more certeine: yea, and that the béeing of our Soule is nothing els, but the knowing of God upon whom it dependeth. And *Avicen* speaketh yet more boldly, saying that he which acknowledgeth not the Godhead, is voyd, not of Reason, but even of Sence. Now, if these Sences from whence our first knowledge procéedeth, doo witnesse the thing unto us; and wée do firmly beléeve a thing when we feele it, and that (as they teach us) wée may feele GOD as well in the world as in our selves: Surely unto him that treateth of Religiö, it ought too bée graunted as an unviolable Principle, *That there is a God*; and all men ought too bée forbidden too call it into question, upon paine of not being men any more. For if every Science have his Principles, which it is not lawfull to remove, bée it never so little: much more reason is it that it should be so, with that thing which hath the ground of all Principles for his Principle. Neverthe-

Trimegistus
in Pœriandro.
Iamblichus,
concerning
Misteryes.
Chapt. 8.

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lesse, let us with the leave of all good men, bestowe this Chapter upon the wickednesse of this our age: and if there bee any which by forgetting God, have in very déede forgotten their owne shape, and mistaken their owne nature: let them learne heereby too reknowledge themselves againe.

It is a straunge cace, that these men which ordinarily speake of nothing but the world, will not see in the world, the thing which the world sheweth and teacheth in all parts. For, let us begin at the lowest, & mount up too the highest; and let us consider it whole together or in his parts; and wee shall not finde any thing therein, either so great or so small, which leadeth us not step by step untoo a Godhead. In this world (too consider it first in the whole,) we have fower degrés of things: to wit, which have Béeing, which have Life, which have Sence, and which have Reason: Some are indewed with all these giftes, and some but with some of them. The Ayre, the Sea, and the Earth are great, and have a great scope. They beare up and susteyne all things that have Life, all things that have Sence, and all things that have Reason. And yet notwithstanding, they themselves have not any more then onely bare Béeing, without Life, without Sence, without Reason: that is too say, the néerest too notbeing. The Plants, besides being, have also life, and they draw their nourishment from the Earth, and their refressing from the Ayre. The Beastes have both Béeing, Life, and Sence, and take their foode both from the Elements and from the Plants. Man hath Béeing, and Life, and Sence, and Reason; and he injoyeth the Elements, liveth of the Plants, commaundeth the Beastes, and discourseth of all things both above him and beneath him. Lo heere an order, such from degré too degré, that whosoever conceiveth not by and by some Author thereof, hath neither Reason nor Sence, no nor is worthie too have either life or béeing. I pray you from whence commeth this goodly proportion, and this orderly procéeding of things by degrés? Whence commeth the difference in their partitions? Whence commeth it that the hugest and widest things are underlings to the least and weakest things? Whereof commeth it that some things have but a dead being, and next unto notbeing; and that othersome have a beeing that is mooving, sensible, and reasonable, howbeit some more, and some lesse? Commeth

The World
leadeth us
unto God.

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it of the things themselves? How can that bée? For séeing that nothing doth willingly become an underling unto others: why bée not the heaviest masses allotted to the best shares? Wherof commeth it that the living things which in respect of the whole Sea are but as a drop, and in respect of the whole Earth are but as a grayne of dust, are in degré of pre-heminence above them? And whereof commeth it, that man being the fraylest of all living wightes, is served by the Elements, by the Plants, and by the Beastes, yea even by the wildest of them? Then is there a divider or distributor of these things, who having imparted thẽ too others, had them first himselfe, and that most abundantly; and who moreover is of necessitie, almightie, seeing that in so unequall partition, he holdeth them neverthelesse in concorde. I say further, that all things are comprized under these fower: that is too wit, under *Beeing, Life, Sence, and Reason*, according too his divers imparting of them unto all things.

Now I demanda, whether was first, of *Beeing* or *Notbeing*; of *Living* or *Notliving*; of *Sensible*, or *Notsensible*; of *Reasonable* or *Notreasonable*? Surely it was neither Reasonable, nor Sensible, nor living; for the time hath bin that wée were not. But wee knowe that wee had fathers, and that our fathers had forefathers: and the ende of them maketh us too beléeve that they had a beginning. In like cace is it with beasts and plants; for wée know the bréeding, growing, decaying and fading of them. Much more then may wée say the same of *Being*. For the things héere beneath which have but onely bare beeing, are farre inferiour too the other things; and therefore cannot bring forth themselves, and consequently much lesse bring forth the other things. It remaineth then that *Notbeeing, Notliving, Notsensible, and Notreasonable*, were afore *Beeing, Living, Sensible, and Reasonable*. And yet notwithstanding wée have both *Béeing, Life, Sence, and Reason*. It followeth therefore that it is a power from without us, which hath brought us out of *Notbéeing* into *béeing*, and hath parted the said gifts among us diversly according too his good pleasure. For otherwise, from out of that nothing which wée were (If I may so terme it,) we should never have come too be any thing at all. Now betweene nothing and something, (how little so ever that something can bee) there is an

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infinite space. Néedes therefore must it be that the cause thereof was infinite (at leastwise if it may bee called a cause,) and that is the very same which we call God.

Let us come to the nature of the Elements whereof the whole is compacted. The Fyre is contrarie too the Water, and the dry to the moyst; and of these contraries are infinite other things produced under them. Now the nature of contraries is too destroy one another; and no twoo things, even of the least, can bee coupled together, but by the working of a higher power that is able too compell them. But wée see that these things doo not incroche or usurpe one uppon another, but contrariwise that they match toogither in the composing of many things: and yet notwithstanding that not so much as two strings becing of one selvesame nature, can agree in one tune, without the wit of a man that can skill too streine them and too slake them as he seeth it good. It followeth therefore that the heavenly harmonie wherein so many contraries are made too accord both universally and particularly, are set toogither and guded by a spirit. Inso-much that if we will say, that according too the comon opinion, the aire is spread foorth as a stickler betwene the Fyre and the Water, and is joyned too the one by his moysture, and too the other by his heate: Yée must needes say also, that there is a great and sovereign Judge above them, which hath made them too abyde that stickler.

Let us mount up higher. Wee see the Heaven how it moveth round with a continuall moving. Also wee see there the Planets one under another, which (notwithstanding the violence of the first moveable) have every one his severall course and moving by himselfe. And shall wee say that these movings happen by adventure? But the same adventure which made them to move, should also make them to stand still. Agein, as for adventure or chaunce, it is nothing els but disorder and confusion: but in all these diversities, there is one uniformitie of moving, which is never interrupted. How then? Doo they move of them selves? Nay; for nothing moveth it selfe, and where things move one another, there is no possibilitie of infinite holding on; but in the end men must be faine to mount up to a first beginning, and that is a rest. As for example, from the hammer of a Clocke wée

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come too a whéele, and from that whéele too another, and finally too the wit of the Clockmaker, who by his cunning hath so ordered them, that notwithstanding that he maketh them all too move, yet he himself removeth not. It remaineth then that of all these movings, wée must imagine one [*Mover*] unmovable: and of all these so constant diversities, one [unvariable] alwaies like it selfe: and of all these bodies, one spirite. And like as from the Earth wée have styed up too the Ayre, from the Ayre too the Skye, from the Skye too the Heaven of Heavens, still mounting up from greater too greater, from light too light, and from subtile to subtile: so let us advaunce our selves yet one degré higher, namely too the infinite, too the light which is not too bée conceived but in understanding, and too the quickening spirit; in respect whereof, the thing that wée woonder at héere beneath, is lesse then a poynt, our light is but a shadowe, and our spirit is but a vapour. And yet notwithstanding he hath so paynted out his glorie and infinitenesse, even in the things which wée most despise; as that even the grossest wits may easely comprehend it.

Let us come downe againe too doo the like heere belowe. Wée shall see the Earth replenished with Herbes, Trees, and Fruites: both Sea and Land furnished with Beastes, Fisshes, Woormes, and Birds of al sorts; every of them so perfect in his kind, as mans understāding cannot spye any want or superfluitie in thē. Whence is all this? Is it of the Elements? Nay, how shall the thing which hath neither life nor sence, give life and sence too other things? Or commeth it of the Sunne? Nay, when did wée ever see him bring forth any such like thing? Whence then is this varietie, but of a most fruitfull & uncōsumable might? Whence commeth this perfection, but of a singuler wisdom? Of Plants, some are hot, and some cold; some swēete, and some bitter; some nourishing, and some healing. And of the most daungerous, the remedie is found either in themselves or in the next unto them. Also as touching Beastes, the wildest and such as live by pray, kéepe by themselves alone, because the flocking of them together would bee noysome. But the tame & such as are most for our profite, doo naturally live in flockes and heardes, because the great numbers of them

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are for our commoditie. Is this also a worke of fortune? Nay, I say further: The Sunne heateth the Earth, the Starres doo limit her seazons, the Ayre moysteneth her drought; the Earth serveth the Grasse, the Grasse serveth the Beasts, and the Beasts serve Man. Each thing serveth other, and all serve one alone. Whence may this bonde come? If things bée everlastingly, and of themselves; how have they thus put themselves in subjection? By what meanes or when began they first too do so? Also how can one of them be for another, seeing that the ende wherefore things are, is ever afore the things themselves, either in nature, or els in consideration; and that the eternitie hath not any thing either afore or after it? So that if they have had their beginning of themselves; did they bring forth them selves in seed, in flower, or in kernell? in Egge, or in full life? small or great, and so forth? Againe, seeing that the one cannot bée without the other, neither Beastes without Grasse, nor Grasse without the Earth, nor the Earth bring forth any thing without the Heaven: which of them came afore, and which of them came after? Or if they were all bred together: whence commeth this agrément among so many divers things; but of the same mynd which made and still governeth all things? Seeing then that these things are so linked together, and that they tend all to one: let us conclude also that that cannot come to passe but through onc, who brought them forth altogether at one instaunt and one burthen, when hee thought good. But now let us see whence commeth this other one wherunto they tend, that is to wit Man; and whether he also bée not for and by that one which hath made them, that is to wit, for and by God.

He that seeth but onely the portrayture of a man, falleth by and by to thinke upon a Paynter; and the first speech that he uttereth, is to aske who made it. Now, if a dead worke doe make us to conceive a living worker: much more reason is it, that a living worke as man is, should make us to bethinke us of a quickening workemaister: yea even of such a one as may bée (at least wise) as farre above man, as man is above the portrayture of his owne making, (forsomuch as there is an infinite distaunce betwixt being and not being, living and not living;) and the same againe is God. The proportion in mans

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bodie, which is so well observed, that all our Artes doe borrowe from thence, doth witnesse unto us a singuler Cunning: and the parts also in that they all serve each others use, and every of them serve the whole; betoken a great wisdom. Now, where Cunning and wisdom bee, there chaunce hath no place. For when a man loseth an eye, an arme, or a legge; wee following the common error do commonly say, it is a mischaunce. But when a member that was out of joynt is set in againe, or a member that was lost is supplied, though it be but with a botched one: none of us will say it was chaunce; because that in the judgement even of the grossest sort, the propertie of chaunce is to undo and to marre things, and not to make or mend any thing at all. Againe, by our Sences which conceive al Colours, Sounds, Sents, Savors, and Féelings; wee may see, heare, smell, tast, and feele, that one selfsame workman made both the Sences, and the things that are subject to the Sences. For to what purpose were the Sences without the sensible things? or the sensible things, without the Sences? And seeing that they relye one upon another; which of them was bred first in the world? If man made them for his Sences; why maketh he not the like still? If he made himselfe to bee borne for them; why suffereth he himselfe to bee bereft of his Sences one after another? Then is it to be sought for elsewhere then in man. But when in the same man we yet further consider Spéech: must wee not needes say that he was made to communicate himselfe to many? And how are they borne one for another? Againe, when wee come to his Mynd, which in discoursing reacheth farre beyond all sensible things; shall wee not say that there are things merely to bee comprehended by understanding, for the which the Mynd was made? And on the other side, if wee finde a Mynde in our selves which are but a little grayne of the whole world; dare wee say that there is no Mynd elsewhere then in our selves? Moreover, seeing that by this Mynd of ours wee understand all other things; which Mynd yet for all that understandeth not ne knoweth not it selfe, neither perceive wee what or whence this Mynde is which so understandeth in us: ought wee not to acknowledge that there is a Mynd above us, whereby wee have understanding of other things, and which understandeth &

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knoweth in us the things which wee our selves knowe not there?

Now then, seeing we understand not ne knowe not our selves, (my meaning is that we bee ignorant what we bee, and what it is from whence our noblest actions procéde :) can we bee the authors of our selves? And from whence then ought wee too acknowledge our selves too have our originall? O man, it may bee that thou lookest but too thy father. But from father too father, we shall come at length too a beginning. And soothly thou art very dulheaded too thinke thy selfe too bee the author of a man, considering that neither thou in begetting him, nor his Mother in breeding him, did once thinke uppon the fashioning of him in hir wombe: No more (say I) than the Nuttree doth when a Nutte falleth from it to the ground, which neverthesse without the Nuttrees thinking thereof, groweth into Roote, Sprig, Barke, and boughes; and in ye end shootefoorth intoo Leaves, Flowers and fruite: And yet notwithstanding, in painting of an Image thou lookest upon it a hundred times, and divers dayes; thou amendest it, and thou busiest all thy wits about it. If thou be the doer of this woorke in the making of man, tell mee why thou hast not children when thou wouldest, and why thou hast them sometime when thou wouldest not? Why hast thou a Daughter, when thou wouldest have a Sonne, or a Sonne when thou wouldest have a Daughter? In painting thy Pictures thou doest not so disapoint thy selfe. Also, if thou beest this good workemaister in making of thy child; tell me how thou hast fashioned it? Whence is the hardnesse of his bones? the liquor of his veynes, the spirite of his Heartstrings, and the beating of his Pulses? Seest thou this, which is also as smally in thy power, as if it were none of thine? Tell mee what is hidden in his breast, and the whole workemanship that is couched within him. If thou hast not seene it in the opening of thy like, thou knowest nothing thereof. Tell mee yet further the imaginations of his brayne, and the thoughts of his heart: nay, tell mee thine owne, which oftentimes thou wouldest faine alter or stay, and canst not. It is a bottemlesse Pit, the which thou canst not gage: and therefore it followeth that thou madest it not. Knowe thou therefore O man, that all this commeth too thee from

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some cause that is above thy selfe. And séeing that thou hast understanding, needes must that cause have understanding too; and seeing that thou understandest not thy selfe, needes must that understand thee: and seeing that thou after a sort art infinite in number, but much more infinite in thy thoughts and deedes: needes must that bee infinite too. And that is it which we call God. What shal I say more? or rather or what remaineth not for mee too say? I say with the auncient *Trismegist*, Lord, shall I looke upon thee in the things that are here beneath, or in the things that are above? Thou madest all things, and whole nature is nothing els but an image of thee. And I will conclude with *David*, Blesse ye the Lord all ye workes of his; yée Heavens, yée waters, yée Winds, yee Lightenings, yee Showers, yee Seas, yee Rivers, and all that ever is, blesse yee the Lorde: yea and thou my soule also blesse thou the Lord for ever. For, to lay forth the proofes which are both in the great world and in the little world; it would stand me in hand to ransacke the whole world; as the which (with all that ever is therein,) is a plaine booke laide open to all men, yea even unto Children to reade, and (as yee would say) even to spell God therein.

Universall
Consent.

Now like as all men may reade in this booke as well of the world as of themselves; so was there never yet any Nation under heaven, which hath not thereby learned and perceived a certeine Godhead, notwithstanding that they have conceived it diversly, according to the diversitie of their owne imaginations. Let a man ronne from East to West, and from South to North: let him ransacke all ages one after another: and wheresoever he findeth any men, there shall he find also a kind of Religion and Serving of God, with Prayers and Sacrifices. The diversitie whereof is very great; but yet they have alwayes consentedall in this poynt, That there is a GOD. And as touching the diversitie which is in that behalf, it beareth witnesse that it is a doctrine not delivered alonly from people to people; but also bred and brought up with every of them in their owne Clymate, yea and even in their owne selves. Within these hundred yeres many Nations have bene discovered, and many are daily discovered still, which were unknown in former ages. Among them, some have bene found to live without Lawe, without King, without

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House, going starke naked, and wandring abroad in the fields: but yet none without some knowledge of God, none without some spice of Religion: to shewe unto us, that it is not so natural a thing in man to love company, and to clad himselfe against hurts of the wether, (which things wee esteeme to be verie kindly :) as it is naturall unto him to knowe the author of his life, that is to say, God. Or if wee yeeld more to the judgement of those which were counted wise among the Heathen nations, (whome afterward by a more modest name men called Philosophers :) The *Brachmanes* among the *Indians*, and the *Magies* among the *Persians*, never began any thing without praying unto God. The lessons of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and of their Disciples, began with prayer and ended with prayer. The auncient Poets (who were all Philosophers,) as *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Hesiodus*, *Pherecides*, and *Theognis*, speake of none other thing. The Schooles of the *Stoikes*, *Academikes*, and *Peripatetikes*, and all other schooles that florished in old time, roong of that. The very Epicures thēselves who were shamelesse in all other things, were ashamed to denie God. To be short, the men of old time (as witnesseth *Plato*) chose their Priestes (which were to have regard of the service that was to be yēelded unto God,) from among the Philosophers, as from among those which by their consideration of nature, had attained to knowe God. And so (which sildome happeneth but in an apparant trueth) the opinion of the comon people and the opinion of the wise, have met both jump together in this point.

Well may there bee found in all ages some wretched kaytifes, which have not acknowledged God, as there be some even at this day. But if we looke into thē, either they were some yong fooles given over to their pleasures, which never had leysure to bethinke them of the matter, and yet when yeeres came uppon them, came backe againe to the knowing of themselves, and consequently of God: or els they were some persons growen quite out of kind, saped in wickednesse, and such as had defaced their own nature in thē selves; who to the intent they might praētise all maner of wickednes with the lesse remorse, have strived to perswade themselves by soothing their owne sinnes, that they have no Soule at all, and that there is no Judge to make inquirie of

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their sinnes. And yet notwithstanding, if these fall into never so little daunger, or be but taken upon the hip, they fall to quaking, they crye out unto heaven, they call upon God. And if they approch, but a farre of, unto death, they fall to fretting and gnashing of their téeth. And when they be well beaten; there is not any shadowe of the Godhead so soone offered unto them, but they imbrace it: so ready are nature and conscience (which they would have restrained and imprisoned) to put them in mind thereof at all howres. They be loth to confesse God, for feare to stand in awe of him; and yet the feare of the least things maketh them to confesse him. Nay, because they feare not him that made all things, therefore they stand in awe of all things; as wee see in the Emperour *Caligula*, who threatened the Ayre if it rayned upon his Gameplayers; and yet notwithstanding he wrapped his Cape about his head, or hid himselfe under his Bed, at every flash of lightening. I beléeve (saith *Seneca* concerning the same matter) that this threatening of his did greatly hasten his death, for so much as folke sawe that they were too beare such a one, as could not beare, even with the Goddes.

Suetonius in
the life of
Caligula.

Seneca in his
first booke
concerning
Wrath.

Objections
concerning
such as were
counted
Atheists.

Among the learned, although the libertie of Sects was lawlesse: yet the chiefe that men counted for Atheists, were one *Diagoras* a *Melian* Poet, one *Theodore* a *Cyrenian*, one *Ewhemere* a *Tegean*, and a very fewe others. But to say truely, these rather skorned the Idolles and false Goddes of their tymes, then denyed the true God. Accordingly as we see many of them yet still among us, which hold themselves cōtented with the knowing of untrueth, without seeking after the trueth; and with mocking of Superstitions, without seeking the pure and true Religion. Of the sayd *Diagoras* it is reported, that as hee was burning an Image of *Hercules* in his fire; he sayd, 'Thou must now doe me service in this thirteenth encounter, as well as thou hast done to *Euristheus* in the other twelve.' This was but a skorning of Idolles. For notwithstanding this: his Verses began thus, that all things are governed by a Godhead. Also it is reported of the other, that he should say to the *Egyptians*; 'If they be Gods, why bewayle ye them? and if they be dead folkes, why worship ye them?' This also was a disproving of these false Gods. And as for *Ewhemere* of *Tegea*, men are of a like corde

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that the cause why he was called an Atheist, was for that he wrote the true Historie and Genealogie of the Heathen Gods; shewing that they were Kings, Princes, and great Personages, whose Images being kept for a remembrance of them were turned into Idolles, their woorthie doings into yerely Gamings, and their honorings into worshippings. And which of us at this day beleeveth not as much? There were in deede a kinde of Philosophers called Scepticks (that is to say Dowters) which did rather suspend their Judgement concerning the Godhead, then call it in question. But yet it ought to suffice us, that they be the selfsame which deny al Sciences, yea even those which consist in Demonstration; and which professe themselves to doubt of the things which they see and feelee; in so much that they doubt whether they themselves have any beeing or no. But yet for all that, let us see after what maner these kind of people doe reason. Against the thing which the world preacheth, which Nations worship, and which wise men wonder at; these folke say at a worde for all, how shall wee beleve that there is a God, sith we see him not? O foole, and (which worse is) O foole by being wise in thyne owne conceyt: Thou beléevest that there is a Sunne, even when thou art in a Dongeon or in the bottome of a Prison, because his beames are shed in at thy windowes: and doubttest thou yet still whether there be a God or no, when he sheweth himself to thee through the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres; in the Ayre, the Earth, the Sea; in all things that they conteyne, yea and even in thy selfe? If thou haddest never seene Tree afore, thy wit at the very first sight of it, would leade thee to the roote which is under the Tree: and the sight of a River would leade thee to the welspring thereof, which may peradventure be two hundred Leagues of. And whosoever should tell thee the contrarie, thou wouldest stand at defiaunce against him. O man, like as the Tree leadeth thee to the roote by his braunches; doth not the roote leade thee likewise to the kernell, and the kernell to him that made it? And as the River leadeth thee to his head; shal not the head leade thee to the originall spring therof, seeing thou canst not doubt but it hath a beginning, sith thou seest that it runneth with a streame? If thou shouldest arrive among the Indians, and finde but

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some sillie Cottage in the desolatest Countrey thereof; Thou wouldest by and by conclude, this Ile is inhabited, some man hath passed heere. And why? Because thou seest there some tokens of mans wit, and knowest well that the Goates which thou hast seene raunging or skipping upon the Rockes, can build no such thing. Now, when thou beeing borne beneath, seest here a hundred and a hundredthousand things which are not possible to be made by man: nay (which more is,) which it is not possible for him to knowe nor to understand: oughtest thou not to say immediatly, Gods spirite hath passed this way, needes must here have bene some higher thing then man?

Plutarch in his treatise of the ceassing of Oracles, reporteth that a Ruler of Cilicia which was an Atheist, came to the beleef of a God, by an answere given from the Oracle of Mopsus, to a demaund of his whiche was delivered sealed.

Mention is made of certeyne precize persons, which beleéved nothing but that which they sawe, and the Wizards made them to see Devilles: Whereupon they came to beleeve also that there is a God. It was a mad kinde of conversion, to beleeve in God by the ministerie of the Devill. But what a number of other things beleevest thou which thou seest not? Thou beleevest that y^e Plants have a kinde of Soule, that is to say, a certeyne inward power or vertue which maketh them to shoote foorth in their season. Thou seest them, but thou seest not it; neither knowest thou whence it commeth, or where it lyeth. Thou beleevest that the Beastes also have one other kinde of Soule, which maketh them to moove: and yet thou seest it as little as the other. Also thou beleevest that thou thy self (besides these) hast an abilitie of reasoning both upon them, and upon thy selfe, and upon such as are like thy selfe. And yet as touching the bodie, thou seest not any thing altered in the partes thereof after death; neither within nor without. Where is that Soule then, or where hast thou ever seene it? If thou beleeve therof because of the effects which thou seest, which cannot come from any thing els: I assure thee even by the same effects, that if thou beleéve nothing thereof but that which thou seest with thyne eyes; thyne eyes see not but by thy Soule, and thyne eyes themselves see not thy Soule. To be short, thou beleévest that thou hast a face, which without a looking Glasse thou seest not: And wilt thou not beleéve there is a God, whose face shineth foorth in all things?

Othersome to shewe themselves more fineheaded, have

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argewed thus. If there bee a GOD, he must needes be a bodily living wight, or els he should be sencelesse. And if he have sences, then is he chaungeable; and if he be chaungeable, then may he perish: that is to say, he is no longer God. Beasts are they in very deed, which can conceive no better then that which is common to Beasts.

Others have sayd thus: If he be without bodie, he is also without Soule, and consequently without action. Or if he be a bodie, he is subject to the chaunges therof. Alas that they should not be able to conceive a Spirite without a bodie, nor to see that even in our selves it is the onely Soule that worketh, and that the bodie stirreth not but as it is moved by the Soule.

Others againe do reason, that if there be a God, he must needes be perfectly happie: and if he be perfectly happie, he is vertuous: if vertuous, he overmaistereth his affections: and if he overmaister his affections, he is tempted of his lustes; a thing altogether unbeseeming the Godhead. And by these inconveniences they conclude, that there is no God at all: not perceiving, or rather wilfully refusing to perceive that which *Plutarke* sayth very well: namely, that the person which overmaistereth his affections, is but halfe vertuous, but the stayed person is wholly vertuous, because the one doth but bridle his passions by force of reason, whereas the other hath them alreadie settled according to reason. But there is yet more in God: for he is reason it selfe, and there is nothing in him but reason. Soothly this kind of reasoning of theirs agréeth in effect with this saying of *Xenophanes*, that if Beastes were able to paynt, they would portray God like to themselves, because they could not naturally conceive any further. Such and other like are the arguments of these goodly Philosophers, which even little babes might laugh to skorne: but els they could not have bene against so manifest and evident a trueth. And yet dare I also well assure you, that they themselves knewe the falsenesse of those arguments, but that they were as it were sworne to doubt of all things, and to gainsay all things.

Let us then conclude with the learned and the ignoraunt, the *Greekes* and the *Barbarians*, Men and Beastes, things sensible and sencelesse, the whole and every part thereof:

*Plutarke in
his treatise of
morall vertue.*

*Xenophanes
as he is
alledged by
Clement of
Alexandria in
his Stromata*

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That there is a God. And if there bee yet any folke that caste doubts thereof, indeavouring to race out not onely God but also man himselfe out of their hearts: let us boldly appeale even unto themselves; not doubting at all, but that their owne Conscience which cannot be defeated, will one day make them to understand it.

The second Chapter.

That there is but onely one God.

The World
leadeth to one
onely God.

Let us studie further in the booke of nature, and see whether that as it hath taught us a Godhead, it teach us not also that the same consisteth in onely one God. I have tould you already, that of things, some have being, some have being and life, some have being, lyfe and sence; and other some have being, lyfe, sence, and reason. These fower sortes fall into three, from three into two, and from two into one, and that one is *Beeing*; afore the which (as I have proved already) there went a *Notbeeing*. The residue therefore how divers so ever they be, are all conveied in the one *Beeing*, and this one *Beeing* must needes rest in the power of one first *Beeing*, whereof the being which we see, is but a shadowe. Againe, in all y^e things which we see; we reduce the particulars too an underkind, the underkinds to an upperkind, and the upperkind to a most generall. As for example, we reduce all particular humane persons under the terme of man; All men under the terme of Wight; all wights under the terme of living things; and all living things under the terme of things that are or be; alwayes referring every diversitie to some unitie, and the same unitie to another unitie which is more universall. It remaineth then that when we can mount no higher, we must distinguish y^e things that are, into the thing which is of it selfe, and the thing which is not of it selfe. That which is not of it selfe, is the World and all that ever is therein, as I have proved afore. That which is of it selfe, is the thing which we cal God, beyond whom nothing can bee imagined, and by whome all things both are and have bene, as which could have no beeing of themselves.

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Now to produce from Notbeeing into beeing, requireth an infinite power. For betwéene nothing and something is an infinite distance; and two infinities cannot be abidden, no nor imagined together. For the infinitenesse of the one doth incloase and bynd the power of the other, and looke whatsoever is given too the one, is taken away from all others. Therefore like as there must néedes be one Infinite, so must there be but only one, yea and most simply one: from whose unitie neverthelesse flowe all the diversities which we see in the whole world, like as from a Pricke, procéedeth a Lyne, an outside, and all substantiall bodies. And of unitie or one in numbering, proceedeth even and odd, round and square, and all the multiplicities, proportions, and harmonies which wee see: saving that the Pricke and the unitie of number are intermingled and interlaced with all things, whereas the foresayd most single and alonly One, abyding still one in it selfe, bringeth forth all the other unities, and conteineth them all.

Let us examine every sort of things severally by them selves, and we shall learne the like still in them. In the Elements wee see contrarie qualities & operations. And where contraries are, there néede but two heads to set them at warre. For they cannot dwell together, neither can they match together, and much lesse can they reigne together. The further that any of them extendeth his power, the lesse can hee away with any fellowe. Now then if one reigned over the Heate, and another over the Colde; one over the Dryth, and another over the Moysture; so as there were divers makers or governors of the worlde: wee should also see diversities of factions, Element against Element in the whole worlde and in every thing that is compounded, and continual warre in the middes of their Bowels. But now see we no such thing; but every of them imbraceth other, both in the whole and in every severall thing, notwithstanding that naturally they displace and destroy one another.

Furthermore they stand not at defyanee alone by them selves, but the Sea becleapeth the Earth, the Sea and Earth together are lapped up in the Ayre, the Ayre is compast about with the Skye, and every of them stoopeth under other;

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insomuch that of their contrarieties ye see there procéedeth a goodly uniformitie. Séeing then that there are not two factions, there is but one maker, and seeing they yeeld all into one, it cannot be but also by one. In the Earth wee see Rivers, which runne a very long race, but yet from one head: and againe many streames, which yeeld themselves all into one, which one is the Sea; and the Sea also being undividable passeth through the whole inferiour world. Like as they come out of one unitie, so doe they yeeld themselves up into one other unitie. In the Heaven wee observe infinite divers movings, but yet all obeying unto one. There is one light which sheadeth it selfe throughout all places, but yet it procéedeth from one onely; which seemeth to multiply it selfe infinitely, & yet cannot by any meanes be parted: I meane one Sunne, whose beames spreading out on all sides, doe reach from the Skye unto the Earth, and yet nevertheless continue still fast knit together in one bond by one unitie. Now all these parts, which proceede from one and tend to one, doe make us to beléeve that all procéede from one most single one.

Againe, in the things that have life, as in Hearbes and Trées; wee see a barke, a stalke or trunke, many boughes or braunches, and an infinite number of leaves. The bodie hath no likenesse to the leaves, nor the leaves to the fruite, nor the fruite to the blossomes. And yet doe all these come from one roote, which hath his force united to it selfe; and the roote springing of a kernell or of a grayne, (which cannot be the work of any mo then one workman) conteyneth all the sayd diversities in his uniformitie, and of it selfe alone yéeldeth foorth infinite of the same kinde; and of one beginning of life which is not multiplyed in it selfe, maketh it selfe a beginning of life (as well within it selfe as without it selfe) unto many things that have life.

Likewise as touching wights, wee see in every of them a thousand divers parts. Outwardly, Head, Eyes, Nose, Eares, Téeth, Tongue, Féete, Tayle, and so foorth: and inwardly the Heart, the Lungs, the Stomacke, the Liver, the Bowelles, the Kidneys, the Bones, the Sinewes, the Heartstrings, the Veynes, and such other things. The beginning of this whole Masse and of all those so manifold parts, is next cousen unto

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nothing; a very small drop, of one shape, but onely one. Yet notwithstanding, it hath the beginning of life and sence united in it selfe; which multiplyeth it self into many abilities, sences, actions, and movings: and that not inwardly onely, but also outwardly in infinite numbers of the same kinde, which in processe of tyme doe fill whole Countries. So certeyne is this principle in nature, that all multitudes come from an unitie or One, and that there cannot bee any multitude, unlesse the same have first bin no multitude. But wee take no héede of it, because wee see it every day: and yet is it given us to looke upon, to the end we should have regard of it. Howbeit, forasmuch as man is both the image of God, and the Counterpane of the world together: wee cannot see this unitie so apparantly in any thing, as in man himselfe. If we looke upon his bodie, all the parts thereof are made one for another, and minister one to another with mutuall dueties: and without so doing, he could not continue nor live. The Eyes guyde the Féeete; the Féeete beare the Eyes; by one part the things that are néedful are taken in; and by another the things that are superfluous are voyded out: and all and every of them referre their doings to the benefite of the whole bodie. This union of divers operations tending al to one poynt, shewes that the framing of man was made by one onely workmanship. And as the workmanship is but one, so must the workemaister also néedes bee but one. For, like as by a building that is made by péeces and of divers proportions, we deeme the diversitie of the maysterbuilders; so by the uniformitie thereof we judge it to be the devise and workmanship of one alone. The Veynes are spred foorth throughout the whole bodie, howbeit from one welhead, that is to say from the Liver: so be the Sinewes, howbeit from the Brayne; So likewise are the Heartstrings, howbeit from the Heart. By these thrée sorts of Cunditpypes, are life, sence, and breath shead foorth even to the least and uttermost parts, and the braunches thereof are without number, but the originall of all is onely one. But yet doth this shine foorth more cleerely in the Soule of man. It hath life, sence, and moving. All these are dealt foorth, maynteyned, and guyded by the onely one Soule. Here ye see already one unitie. The Soule which hath his powers so divers and so farre spred,

Man leadeth
us to one God.

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is whole thorowout all the whole bodie, and whole in every part thereof, as much in the least as in the greatest, and as much in the least as in the whole. There ye see yet a streighter unitie. Againe, the Soule is yet more streightly shut up into Mynde, which is the Soule of the Soule, as the Apple of the Eye is the Eye of the Eye; and yet notwithstanding, this Mynd (as entierly one as it is,) conceiveth and doth infinite things, entereth into a thousand places without removing, passeth over the Seas, mounteth up to the Heavens, and reacheth downe to the deapth of the Earth. Lo here an unitie most streight in it selfe, and yet extended to the utmost parts of the world.

Hermes saith that 'the Sunnebeames of God are his Actions, the Sunnebeames of the World are the Natures of things, and the Sunnebeames of Man are Artes and Sciences.' Therefore let us see whether the Artes and Sciences will guyde us to the same unitie, wherunto those Actions and the natures of things have led us alreadie, beginning at the lower, and mounting up to the higher. Grammer teacheth us to bring the divers parts of speech into one congruetie, and the end thereof is to speake; and the end of speaking is societie. Rhetorike teacheth to drawe mennes minds to one selfsame opinion. Logike teacheth to sift out ye trueth from a nôber of falshods, which trueth can be but one. Their ends then are congruetie, societie, unitie of mind and trueth, which are but sundrie sortes of unitie. Arithmetick proceedeth from unitie, Geometrie from a pricke; and Musick from agrément of sounds; and the end of them is to reduce things to one comon reason, to one proportion, and to one harmonie, all which are kinds of unitie, and their braunches are braunches of the same. For Perspecttve draweth all his lynes to one poynt: Masonrie and Carpentrie tende to uniformitie. The handicraft indevereth to bring many powers and many movings under one, to overrule them all: All which again are but sundry sorts of unitie. Phisick tendeth to the preservation or restitution of health; and health is nothing els but a welproportioned union of divers humors together. The skill of Lawe tendeth to Right, and there is but one Right, though there be infinite wrongs. Then serves it but to mainteyne, restore, and bring men backe ageine unto unitie. Let us

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proceede further; Morall Philosophie subdeweth many divers passions and affections unto one reason, in one man. Howsholdgovernment bringeth many men to the obeying of one householder: Civillgovernment reduceth many households into one Commonweale, which is nothing but an unitie of many people, whether it be under one Lawe or under one magistrate; insomuch that evē the most popular Comonweales have (in their extremities) taken a Dictator, and in their ordinarie course of government a Consull, the one after the other. Nowthen all that ever man conceiveth, inventeth and disposeth, doth leade us alwayes to an unitie. Where unitie is lost, there things goe to wrecke, Artes are confounded, and Commonweales are dissolved. Then like as in ununited diversitie wee finde waste and subversion; so must we looke in unity for the increase and preservation of all things. Now if man, and all that is within man and without him doe leade us to one alone: shall he suffer himselfe to raunge out unto many? And if all the Sonnebeames of man, I meane his Arts and Sciences, tend too one unitie: shall only divinitie turne us aside to a pluralitie of Goddes? Nay rather, by so many unities, she will make us stye up to the true and perfect unitie, and that unitie is the onely one God.

But let us see now how all things being so divers in the whole world, are referred one to another. The Water moysteneth the Earth, the Ayre maketh it fatte with his showers, the Sunne inlighteneth it and heateth it according to his seasons. The Earth nourisheth the Plants, the Plants feede the Beastes, & the Beasts serve man. Againe, nothing is séene here to be made for itselfe. The Sunne shineth and heateth; but not for it selfe: the Earth beareth and yet hath no benefite thereby: the Winds blowe, and yet they sayle not: but all these things redound to the glory of the maker, to the accomplishment of the whole, and to the benefite of man. To be short, the noblest creatures have néede of the bacest, and the bacest are served by the noblest; and all are so linked together from the highest to the lowest, that the ring thereof cannot bee broken without confusion. The Sunne cannot be Eclipsed, the Plantes withered, or the Raine want; but all things feele the hurt thereof. Now then, can we imagine that this woorke which consisteth of so many

The linking
in of things
together.

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& so divers pièces, tending all to one end, so cuppled one to another, making one body, & ful of so apparant consents of affections; procéedeth from elsewhere than from the power of one alone? When in a féeld we sée many Battels, divers Standerds, sundry Liveries, and yet all turning head with one swaye; wee conceive that there is one Generall of the field, who commandeth them all. Also when in a Citie or a Realme wee sée an equalitie of good behavior in an unequality of degrees of people, infinite trades which serve one another, the smaller reverensing the greater, the greater serving to the benefite of the smaller, both of them made equall in Justice, and all tending in this diversitie to the common service of their Countrie: we doubt not but there is one Lawe, and a Magistrate which by that Lawe holdeth the said diversitie in union. And if any man tell of many Magistrates; we will byandby inquire for the soveraine. Yet notwithstanding, all this is but an order set among divers men, who ought even naturally to be united, by the communitie of their kind. But when things as wel light as heavy, whot as cold, moyst as dry, living as unliving, endewed with sence as sencelesse, and eche of infinite sortes, doe so close in one composition, as one of them cannot forbear another; nay rather to our séeming, the worthiest doe service to the bacest, the greatest to the smallest, the strongest to the weakest, and all of them together are disposed to the accomplishment of the worlde, and to the contentment of man who alonly is able to consider it: ought we not forthwith to perceive, that the whole worlde and all things conteyned therein, doe by their tending unto us, teach us to tend unto one alone? And séeing that so many things tende unto man; shall man scatter his doings unto divers ends? Or shall hee bee so wretched as to serve many maysters? Nay further, to knit up this poynt withall, séeing that all things the nobler they bee, the more they doe close into one unitie, (as for example, wee sée that the things which have but mere being are of infinite kynds, the things that have life are of infinite sortes, the things that have sence are of many sortes, howbeit not of so many; and the things that have reason are many, onely in particulars): doth it not followe also that the Godhead from whence they have their reason (as nobler thā they) is also much more one than they,

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that is to say, only one as well in particularitie and number, as also in kynd?

Howbeit, notwithstanding all these considerations, forasmuch as there is diversitie, yea and contraritie in worldly things; some have gathered upon this diversitie, that there be divers Gods, acknowledging neverthelesse one Almighty above them all. And othersome, in respect of the contrarietie, have set downe but twoo Gods onely. The first say, If onely one God had made all things, there should have bene no difference in things: but there is difference; and therefore it must néedes bee that there are many Gods. Surely had these men wel considered the things afore alledged by méé; they should have séene that nature is wholly and altogether against this Consequence. There is great diversitie in one Plant, in one Wight, in one Man: and yet notwithstanding the ground thereof is uniforme. Yea and it is so true that onely unitie is fruitfull, that we see how the diversitie it selfe and that which commeth thereof, is utterly barrein, both in Wights, (as in Mules) and in Plants, as in the *Stergon*, and also in all other like things. If they consider the Sunne, hee maketh Plants to growe all at one tyme, divers one from another, and as divers in themselves. Hee maketh some of them too shootefoorth, some to ripen, and some to wither. At one instant he both worketh drought in the Earth, and draweth up Clowdes out of it to moysten it: he giveth Sommer, Daylight, & fayre weather to some, and Winter, night, and fowle wether unto othersome: Hee maketh some folkes whyte, some blacke, some read, and some Tawny; and yet is hee but one selvesame Sunne, and one selvesame Creature, which at one selvesame instant, by one selvesame course, and with one selvesame qualitie of heate, doth all the sayd things, not onely divers, but also contrarie. And hee that should say that it is any other than one selvesame Sunne that maketh the Ethiopian blacke, and the Scotte yellowish, were not worthy to be answered. Now if a Creature doth by heate (which is but a qualitie) bréede so divers effectes; what shall we say of the Creator, I meane the infinite Being of GOD, who imparteth himselfe to all things?

Again, if man consider himselfe, he feeleth, he seeth, he speaketh, he understandeth a thousand divers things, without

The objections
of such as
mainteyne
mo Gods
thā one.

Julian the
Apostata, in
Cyrillus.

Stergon is an
herbe which
groweth of an
Onyon stuffed
with Linscede
or seede of
Flax.

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any alteration in himselfe. Nay which more is, he conceiveth, he inventeth, and he performeth so divers workes, that Nations doe wonder one at another. One man portrayeth out the whole worlde in a little péece of Paper, peinting out all the Images of the Heavens, and all the Climates of the Earth. Some one other counterfeiteth all living wights, which Crépe, which Goe, which Flye, which Swimme. And all this commeth but of one mynd which conceiveth and bréedeth all these formes, because it hath no forme of it owne; for had it any of it owne, it could not breede them, because it owne would occupie it to the full. What have we then to thinke of him, whose willings are powers, and whose thoughts are déedes? Who is an infinite mynd; in comparison of the brightnesse wherof our mynds are but a shadowe? If we, who (to speake properly) are but in outward showe, doe things in outward showe so divers: do we doubt that he which is in very trueth, cannot do them also in very trueth? Moreover, if the diversitie make us to imagine divers Gods, howbeit all procéding of one alone: shall we say that he which in his unitie, bred the rest of the Gods with their so divers powers, had not the same powers in his unitie? Againe, seeing the sayd diversitie was once included within the sayd unitie; is it to be sayd that he was fayne to hatch up divers Gods, for the bringing of that diversitie to light? Nay, like as nature doth all things the shortest way: so also God made all things immediatly. And if they say it was his pleasure to make the high things himselfe, and to leave the lowe things to be done by the pettie Gods: we must consider that High and Lowe, Noble and Unnoble, are but considerations of man. For to make the one or the other, is all one unto God; who of his infinite goodnesse and power, hath drawne both twayne of them out of nothing, which was no more the one than the other, as wée shall see hereafter.

Against two
beginnings.
Plutark in the
lyfe of Osyris
and Isis.

Let us come to such as have uphilde two beginnings, the one good whom they call *Oromases*; and the other evill whom they call *Arimanius*; which opinion men say procéded first from *Zoroastres*, and afterward from the *Persians* and *Manichies*; but wee shall finde no foundation thereof in nature. Their meaning is, that the Elements, the Plants, Beastes, Men, yea and Spirites, were as yee would say parted betwixt

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these twoo Gods, so as the one should bee the Creator of the one, and the other of other; the good God, of the good; and the evill of the evill. If it be so, then is there a Civill warre fully furnished, of forces set in battelray on both sides: so as there remayneth nothing but fighting, and yet after so long tyme we see no such fight at all. And therefore let us conclude, that this cōtrarietie of beginnings is not. Unto the one, they allotted Light: and unto the other, Darknesse: unto the one, Sommer: and unto the other Winter: unto the one, Heate: and unto the other, Cold. In very déede these are Contraries, but yet is one selfsame Sunne the doer of them all, after as he goeth further from us or commeth neerer to us. And his going from us is not to forgoe his light, but to shine therewith the neerlyer unto others; nor to coole himselfe, but to heate other folkes. Then if these contraries come of one selfsame one, that is to wit of the Sunne: Much more likely is it in reason, that the Sunne himself should not come of two. Againe, why should the one of these contraries be good, and the other bad? Whosoever shall have tryed the extremitie both of the Heate and of the Cold, shall not be able to discern which is the worser. Likewise he that shall have observed the benefite that cometh of either of them in their seasons, shall not be able to discern which of them to take for the better. The Heate ripeneth fruites; but it also seareth and parcheth them. The Colde starveth them; but it also maketh them to bud. Take away either of them both, and you take away all fruites. And like as both of them are needfull to one selfsame thing, that is to wit, to the bringing foorth of fruites: so be they also procured by y^e course of one selfsame might, which is the Sunne. The same Sunne is the lightner of our eyes to our behoofe; and he is also the blinder of them if wee gaze upon him at the heyghth of the day. Yet notwithstanding, both in the Sunne and in our eyes is the selfsame light which they call good, and which by his reckoning should bee to them both good and bad: and if it be so, on which side shall they turne themselves?

They adde further: Among Plants there are so many poysons, and among living wights, so many noysome Beastes: that how should a good God bee author of them? Sillie

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man that thou art ! The Poysons thou occupiest in Tryacles for thy health, even against the Plague. And of those Beastes thou canst skill to use the skinnes to clothe thee against the Colde. And if thou hast an evill opinion of some of them, because thou canst not serve thy turne with them; as much wouldest thou have sayd sometime of ye Horse, which as now doth thee service so many waies: & as much might the Satyre have said of Fire when it burned him, notwithstanding that as now it be so many waies necessarie. Now then they might benefite thee, if thou wistest how to use them: and whereas they anoy thee, it is not of their nature, but through thyne owne weakenesse or rather ignorance. But if they be good so farre forth as thou hast skill of them: shall they not bee good to him which knoweth them thoroughly? In the Closet of a Surgion who is but a man as thou art, thou shalt finde a thousand tooles; and thou wilt perchaunce esteeme him so wise, that thou wilt not thinke there is any one of them, which serveth not to some purpose. Yea, and if any of them doe cut thee or race thee; thou wilt not blame the toole nor the maister thereof, but thy selfe which tookest it by the blade, whereas thou shouldest have taken it by the handle. And as little canst thou say, that the toole which did cut thee, as that the toole wherewith thou diddest cut what thou wouldest, had another maister or maker. Now then, wilt thou bring lesse regard with thee in this great shop of the Creator? It is his will that some things shall serve other living wights which serve thee, and othersome shall serve thee alone. Yea, and he will have even the harmes which thou receivest by them, to serve thee to some purpose: and he serveth his owne turne better by thee, then thou canst serve thyne owne. And if thou which art nothing, hast yet so much wit as to drawe some peculiar good to thy self, out of another bodies workes, yea even out of such as thou accountest evill; as out of Poyson, health; from the Wolfe, his skinne to cover thee; from the night, rest; and so foorth: Shall not the almightie and infinite Spirit much better dispose them for the benefite of all men, yea and of all the whole world which comprehendeth so many things together?

They say yet againe; But why should a good God take

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pleasure in so many néedlesse things? For to what purpose serveth the Fly, and such other things? Tell me, wouldest thou like well that thine owne Children should speake such reproach of thy workes? Nay rather wherein doth the Flye anoye thee? And wherfore served the Flye that *Zeuxis* paynted in his Table? It served to make his greatest disdeyners, (even those which would have had that rather then all the rest wyped out of the Table) to confesse his arte and excellent skill. And this serveth to convict thee of blockishnes, thee (I say) which haddest rather to finde fault with God and with the Flye, then to wonder at the excellencie of him, who hath inclosed so lively a life, so quicke a mooving, and so great an excellencie in so little a thing. So then, it is not for us to chace her out of the table; but rather to confesse our owne ignoraunce, or els to chace it away. Hereby therefore we perceive, that of all the things which they can alledge, there is none which is not good and behofefull in it self; and that the evilnesse thereof commeth onely through us, and therfore that the thing hath but onely one Beginner thereof, who is good.

But behold, they urge the matter yet more strongly. Howsoever the case stād (say they) it cannot be denied but there is evilnesse in things, seeing that they corrupt themselves, and the sinne that is in our selves is utterly evill: and sith it is so, from whence may that bee? For if God be good, he cannot bee the author of evill; and therefore there must néedes bee another author thereof. This question shall bee handled more lightsomely when I come to treat of Mans fall, which is the bringer in of the two evils, namely both of payne and fault; but yet may we assoyle it if we take heede. Wée say that making and creating are referred to natures or substances, and that all natures and substances are good; and therefore that God who is good, is the author and Creator of them. On the contrary part, we say that evill is neither a nature nor a substance, but an income or accident which is false into natures and substances; It is (say I) a bereving or diminishing of the good qualities which things ought naturally to have. This evill hath not any being in it selfe; neither can have any being but in the thing that is good. It is not an effect, but a default; nor a production,

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but a corruption. And therefore to speake properly, we must not seeke whence commeth the doing of evill, but whence commeth the undoing of good. As for example, Wine is of Gods creating, and it is good. Now this good substance falling to decay, that is to say, to abate or diminish of his vertue, becommeth Vineger. Whereupon no man asketh who made the substaunce that is become sharpe, for it is the selfsame that it was afore; but they aske whence cometh the sharpnes or eagernes, that is to say, the alteration that is befallne to the substance. If thou say that it commeth of the foresayd evill Beginner the author of all evill, as the good Beginner is the author of all goodnesse: forasmuch as evill is nothing els but a default, want or fayling of good; it is the soveraine or chiefe default or fayling, as the good is the soveraine or chiefe being. And if it be the chiefe default, then is it not any more. For the default or fayling of a thing, is a tending of the thing to notbeing any more the same that it was: and the fayling of all, is a tending to the utter unbeing or notbeing of the whole.

Nothing being a negative, causeth nothing which is the privative.

Moreover, the sayd evill Beginner, which worketh not but in the substance that is made or created by another, could do nothing if the good Beginner wrought not first; and so should he have the Commencement of his power depending upon another than himselfe, which is a thing repugnant to a Godhead. And if you aske what is then the cause thereof: I tell you it is the very nothing it selfe; that is to wit, that God almightie, to shewe us that he made all of nothing, hath left a certeyne inclination in his Creatures, whereby they tend naturally to nothing, that is to say, to chaunge and corruption, unlesse they bee uphild by his power, who having all in himselfe, abideth alonly unchaungeable and free from all passions. As in respect then that things be, they be of God; but as in respect that they corrupt & tend to notbeing that which they were afore; that commeth of the sayd notbeing, whereof they were created. And so they be good, as in respect of their bare being; and evill as in respect that they forgo their formal being, that is to say, their goodnesse: Good on the behalfe of the [soveraine] Good, the father of all substances; Evill as on the behalfe of the Nothing: And soothly neither by nature nor by justice ought they to be

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made equall with the unchaungeable Being of their Creator. And this is to be seene alike in all things. An Apple rotteth, and a man dyeth. The Apple and the man, that is to say, the natures of them are Gods Creatures. As for the rottennesse and the sicknesse, they bee but abatements and defaults of the good nature that was in either of them from the good Creator. Man againe becommeth a Sinner, and hereunto he needeth no newe creation. It is a vanishing away of the good nature, which loseth her taste. And therefore S. *Austine* sayth, that the *Latins* terme an evill man *Nequam*, and an evillnesse *Nequitiam*, that is to say, *Naughtie* and *Naughtinesse*. Now, like as of rightnought there needeth no beginner; so also is there none to bee sought of naughtinesse or evill. And by y^t meanes there remaineth unto us but onely one God the beginner and author of all things, as wee have defined him alreadie afore. *Plato*, *Plotin*, and other great Philosophers of all Sexes, are of opinion that *Evill* is not a thing of itselfe, nor can bee imagined but in the absence of all goodnes, as a deprivation of the good which ought to be naturally in every thing: That evill is a kynd of notbeing, and hath no abyding but in the good, whereof it is a default or diminishing. That the cause thereof is in the very matter whereof God created things, which matter they termed 'the very unbeing,' that is to say, in very trothe no being atall, whereof the Creatures reteyne still a certeine inclination, whereby they may fall away from their goodnesse: And that in the very Soule of man, the evil that is there is a kind of darknesse, for want of looking up to y^e light of the sovereyne mynde which should inlighten it; and through suffering it selfe too bee caried too much away to the materiall things which are nothing. But now that we have doone with nature, it is good tyme to see what the wysest men will teach us concerning the onely one God.

Plato, in his *Timæus*.
Plotin, in *Enn.* 1. lib. 8
Trismegist.
 in *Asclepio*.
Simplicius
 uppon
Epictetus.

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The third Chapter.

That the Wisdome of the world hath acknowledged one onely God.

SOME man will say unto mee, if in the worlde, if in the things conteyned in the worlde, if in man himselfe, it bee so lively painted out that there is but only one God; whereof then commeth the multitude of Gods among men, yea and among those whome the worlde counted wysest? I will not prove hie that all those Gods were either dead men or Divels: for that shalbe handled more materially in another place. But it shall suffice for this present, to shewe the universalitie of consent in this point, and that even those which through custome did celebrate the pluralitie of Gods, did yet notwithstanding beléeve that there is but onely one true God: Which thing I will first maynteyne by the wyse men which lived from age to age. *Mercurius Trismegistus*, who (if the bookes which are fathered upon him bee his in déede, as in trueth they bee very auncient) is the founder of them all, teacheth everywhere, That there is but one GOD: That one is the roote of all things, and that without that one, nothing hath bene of all things that are: That the same one is called the onely good and the goodnesse it selfe, which hath universall power of creating all things: That it is impossible that there should bee many makers: That in Heaven he hath planted immortalitie, in earth, interchaunge, and universally, lyfe and moving: That unto him alone belongeth the name of Father and of Good; and that without blasphemie those titles cannot be attributed either to Angels, to Féends, or to men, or to any of al those whom men do cal Gods as in respect of honor and not of nature. He calleth him father of the world, the Creator, the Beginning, the Glorie, the Nature, the Ende, the Necessitie, the Renewer of all things, the worker of all powers, and the power of all works, the onely holy, the onely unbegotten, the onely everlasting, the Lord of everlastingnesse, and the everlastingnesse it selfe; the onely one, and by whome there is but onely one worlde; alone, and himselfe alonly all; namelesse, and more

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excellent than al names. Unto him alone will he have us to offer up our prayers, our Prayses, and our Sacrifices, and never to call upon any other than him.

I would faine knowe whether it bee possible for us to say any thing, either more, or better for the setting forth of the sayd unitie? In déede in some places hee speaketh of Gods in the plurall number, as when he calleth the world a God, and the Heaven with the Planets which rule the Heaven, Gods: but that is after the same maner which he sometymes calleth man himselfe a God, notwithstanding that no man can doubt of his birth and death, which are things cleane contrarie to the true Godhead. ‘The Starres’ (saith he, speaking of the Creation) ‘were nombred according to the Gods that dwell in them.’ And in an other place he saith, ‘There are two sorts of Gods, the one wandring, and the other fixed.’ But in the tymes going before, he had sayd that God is the beginner of them, That he made them, That he is the Father and onely good, unto whom nothing is to bee compared, either of the things beneath, or the things above. Also he saith further, That the world is a second God, and a sensible God: and that Man is a third God, by reason of the immortall Soule which is in him: but yet he calleth them Children, Impes and Creatures of the onely one God, and most commonly Shadowes and Images of him; neither is it his meaning to attribute so much unto them, as only one sparke of goodnes, or power to make the least thing that is. To be short, hée setteth downe some Gods as principall, some as meane, and other some as undergovernours: But the conclusion of his matter is, that the soveraine dominion belongeth to God the soveraine Lord of them all, upon whom alonly they depend, and from whom they proceede, who alonly is called Father and Lorde, and whatsoever holier name can be given, who made both men and Gods, yea and men (sayth he) much better and more excellent then all the Gods. And as at the beginning of his worke he had prayed unto him alone; so thanketh and praiseth he him alone in the ende; which thing I thought good to set out at length, because many Philosophers have drawne their skill and knowledge out of his fountayne.

Pythagoras speaketh of God in these termes: ‘God is but

Mercurius
Trismegistus,
in his *Poëman-*
der. Chap. 3.
8. 10. 11. 12.
And in his
Asclepius.
Chap. 2. 6.
8. 9.

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Alledged
by Cicero,
Plutarke,
Clemens of
Alexandria,
and Cyrillus.

Philo the
Jew: and
Iamblichus of
the Sect of
Pythagoras.

Hierocles
against the
Atheists.

Simplicius in
his Phis.
Numenius
concerning
the Good.

Arist. 14. Me-
taph. Cap. 4.
Aristotle al-
ledgeth them
in his first
Philosophy
and in his
booke of the
World.

Aristo. 1.
Phis: cap. 10.
lib. 3.
Simplic. lib.
1. Phis.

one; not as some thinke, without government of the world, but all in all. He is the orderer of all Ages, the light of all powres, the Originall of al things, the Cresset of Heavē, the Father, Mynd, Quickener, and Mover of all.' Moreover, he calleth him 'The infinite power from whence al other powers flowe'; which cannot be verified but of him alone. *Philolaus* a disciple of his sayth, That there is but onely one God, the Prince and Guyder of all things, who is alwaies singular, unmovable, like himselfe, and unlike all other things. Also *Architas* sayth, that he esteemeth no man wise, but him which reduceth all things unto one selfsame Originall, that is to wit, unto God, who is the beginning, end, and middle of all things. And *Hierocles* one of the same Sect, sayth, that the same is he whom they call by the name of *Zena* and *Dia*, the Father and maker of all things, because all things have their life and being of him. Verely (by the report of *Eudorus* as he is alledged by *Simplicius*) they called him the founder of matter. And had we the bookes of *Numenius*, we perceive well by the things which we reade & heere there, that we should finde them manifest and plaine. Now, all these had this doctrine both from Nature and from the Schoole of *Pherecydes* the Syrian the Maister of *Pythagoras*, unto whom *Aristotle* attributeth it in his Metaphisicks. *Empedocles* the successor of *Pythagoras*, celebrated none other but this onely one, as appeareth by these Verses of his.

*All things that are, or ever were, or shall hereafter bee,
Both man & woman, Beast and Bird, Fish, Worme, Herb,
Grasse, & Tree,
And every other thing, yea even the auncient Gods each one
Whom wee so highly honor heere, come all of one alone.*

Parmenides and *Melissus* taught the same; and so did their Schoolemaister *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian*, as we bee credibly informed by the Verses of *Parmenides* rehearsed by *Simplicius*; in the which Verses hee calleth him the 'Unbegotten, the whole, the only one, not which hath bin or shalbe, but which everlastingly is all together and all of himselfe.' To be short, of the like opinion were *Thales*, *Anaxagoras*, *Timeus* of *Locres*, *Acmon*, *Euclide*, *Archævetus*, and others of the auncientest Philosophers. And *Aristotle*

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witnesseth in many places, that it was the common Doctrine of the men of olde tyme; The which *Zeno* hild so streightly, that to deny the Unitie of God, and to deny the Godhead it selfe, he thought to bée all one. And the cause of so saying among the auncient Philosophers, was not their only reading therof in the writings of some that went afore them, (as we might doe now); but also their reading thereof both in the World and in themselves. But let us come to the chiefe Sects of the Philosophers.

Socrates the Schoolemaister of *Plato*, confessed only one God, and (as *Aulus Gellius* and *Apuleius* report) was condemned to drinke Poyson, for teaching that the Gods which were worshipped in his tyme were but vanitie: And for that in scorne of them he was wont to sweare by an Oke, by a Goate, and by a Dogge; as who would say there was no more Godhead in the one than in the other. Yet notwithstanding, he was the man whom *Apollo* by his Oracle déemed to bee the wisest of all *Greece*; thereby confessing that he himselfe was no God. His Disciple *Plato* delivereth a rule in fewe words, whereby to discern his meaning. ‘When I write in good earnest (sayth he) you shall knowe it hereby, that I begin my letters with onely one God: and when I write otherwise, I begin them with many Gods.’ Verely his ordinarie maner of spéeches were not, If it please the Gods, with the helpe of the Gods, and such like: but if it please God, by the helpe and guying of God, God knoweth it, Such a man is the cause thereof next unto God, and such other like. Whereas he affirmeth al other things not to bee in very déede: He calleth God, the Father of the whole World, the Béer, that is to say, he who only is or hath béeing; the selfbred, who also made y^e Heaven, the Earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the tymes and seasons, and all other things both heavenly and earthly, high and lowe, and whatsoever els is. In other places he calleth him the Beginning, the Middle, and the End; by whom, for whom, and about whom all things are; the Governor of all that ever is and shall be; the very Goodnesse, and the Paterne of all goodnesse; the King of all wights indewed with reason and mynd; of whom all things have their Béeing, and which is of more excellencie then the word Béeing. And the names

Academicks.

Plato in his
13. Epistle to
King Denis.

Plato in *Ti-
mæus*, in his
10. booke of
his Common-
weale, and in
his Epistle to
Dion, *Her-
mias*, and
Coricus.
*ἐπεκεῖνα τῆς
οὐσίας.*

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and titles which he giveth unto the true God, are commonly given him under the name of *Jupiter*, and he thinketh that they be not to be communicated unto any other. In déede sometymes he suffereth himselfe to be caried away to the cōmon maner of speaking, perhaps for feare of the like end that his Schoolemaister had, & he doth it expressly in his booke of Lawes, which was to bee published to the people. For there and in divers other places, he calleth the heavenly *Spirites by the name of Gods: but yet he maketh God speaking to them as to his Creatures; naming them Gods begotten and made by him; and him on the contrary part the Father & God of Gods. Also he honoreth Heaven with the same name, because of the substantialnes thereof: and likewise the Starres, by reason of the perpetuities of their course: And it may be y^t in that respect the *Greekes* called them **θεοί*, Gods. Howbeit, he addeth that they bee visible Gods, and that the Heaven was made by [the only one invisible] God, That it hath none other immortalitie, than such as he hath given unto it, and that he hath placed the Starres in the Skye for the measuring of tymes, seasons and howres, appoynting unto every of them his Circuit. As touching mē, he sheweth wel enough what he beléved of them, by his declaring of their Genealogie: that is to say, their mortalitie; to wit, that he acknowledged in thē some shadow of the Godhead, but that the very essence or substance thereof was in the onely true God.

All the *Platomists* have followed the sayd doctrine, bringing it so much the more to light, as they themselves have drawne néerer to our tyme. *Damascius* sayth; 'The one bringeth foorth all things; The one ought to be honored by silence: The one (like the Sunne) is seene dimly a farre of, and the neerer the more dimly, and hard at hand taketh away the sight of all things.' *Iamblichus* surnamed the Divine, acknowledged every where a divine cause, which is the beginning, end, and middle of all things: That there is one God the maister of all, at whose hand welfare is to be sought: That the end of all Contemplation is to ame at one, and to withdrawe from multitude unto unitie: And that the same one or unitie is God, the Ground and of all trueth, happinesse, and substaunce, yea and of all other Grounds themselves.

Plato in his booke of Lawes, and in his booke intytled *Epinomis*.
* We call them Angelles.

* Of the word Thein, which signifieth to Runne.

Plato in his *Timæus* and *Laertius* in *Platoes* life.

Damascius.
τὸ ἐν πᾶσι.

Iamblichus in his booke of the-*Seft* of *Pythagoras*.

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He sayth in déede, (and his bookes are so full of it) That there are both Goddes and Féendes; and of them he maketh divers degrées, as, good and bad, high and lowe, and so foorth. But yet for all that, he alwaies acknowledgeth one chiefe, whom he calleth the ‘onely one God,’ which hath bin afore all that is, and is the Fountaine and Roote of all that first understandeth or is first understoode, that is to say of all formes, shapes or Patternes [conceived or conceivable in mynd or imagination,] Suffizing to himselfe and Father of himselfe; the begetter of the Soules of the other Gods, according to the Patternes conceived in his owne mynd; who is not only the chiefe Being, but also the superessentiall Beeing, [that is to say, a Béeing which farre surmounteth, passeth, and excelleth all Béings:] nor simply Good, but the very Good and Goodnesse it selfe: Insomuch that he calleth all the other Goddes Severed essences, Goodnesses derived, and Myndes sparkling foorth from the Godhead of the Supersubstantiall God, [that is to say, of the God whose substance surpasseth and excelleth all maner of substances:] which Gods understand not any thing but by beholding the sayd One, nor are any better than dealers foorth of certaine giftes which they have from him. And *Theodore* the *Platomist* addeth, that all of them pray earnestly to the first, and drawe from him which is of himselfe; and that otherwise they should goe to nought.

Proclus, (after the maner of the *Platomists*, which was for the most part to be very Superstitious) turneth himselfe oftentimes aside to many Gods: but yet his resolutiō is this in expresse words. ‘Who is he (sayth he) that is King of all, the onely God separated from all, and the producer of all things out of himselfe, which turneth all ends unto himselfe, and is the end of ends, the first cause of operatiōs, the author of all that ever is good and beautifull, the inlightener of all things with his light? If thou beleewe *Plato*, he can neither be uttered nor understood.’ And anon after, ‘Then is it this first simplicitie which is the King; the Sovereintie and Superexcellencie of all things, uncomprehensible, not to bee matched with any other thing, uniforme, going beyond al causes, the Creator of the substance of the Gods which hath some forme of goodnesse. All things goe after him and sticke unto him: for he produceth and perfecteth al things that are subject to

Iamblichus in
his booke of
Mysteries.

Chap. 1. 3. 5.
12. 16. 17. 39.

ὑπερόντως ὄν.

ἐλλάμπει ἀπὸ
τῆς θεότητος
τοῦ ὑπερουσίτου
θεοῦ.

Proclus in
Platos
Divinitie.

ὁ ἐνιαῖος θεός.

ὑπερβολῇ.

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understanding, like as the Sunne doth to al things that are subject to sence. To be short, it is the unutterable cause which *Plato* teacheth us under two names in his *Commonweale*, calling it the very Goodnesse it selfe, and the fountayne of trueth, which uniteth the understanding to the things that are understood.' And in his *Parmenides*, 'The One or Unitie whereupon all the divine Unities are grounded, and which is the Originall of all that is, and of all that as yet is not.' In his booke of the Soule and of the Spirit, he teacheth us the way to atteyne from many multitudes to this supersubstantiall Unitie, which hee calleth the Nature grounded in eternitie, the life that liveth and quickeneth, the waking understanding, the welspring of all welfare, the infinite both in continewance and in power, and yet notwithstanding without quantitie, and so foorth. Neverthesse, he attributeth much to Angelles and Féendes according to Art Magicke, which the *Platomists* did greatly affect in those daies: howbeit in such sort, as he continually followeth this rule of his so oft repeated in his bookes, That all things are from the true God who is hidden; and that the second degré of Gods, that is to say the Angelles and Féendes, are from the very selfsame: and (to bee short) that to beléeve any mo Gods than one, and to beléeve none at all, are both one thing.

**Ἐν θείῳ
ἐνάδῳ ὑπο-
στατικόν.*

Proclus in his
booke of the
Soule and the
Spirit cap. 32.
42. 53.

Many Gods
(sayth Pro-
clus) is God-
lesnesse.

Simplicius
upō the
Epictetus of
Arrian.

τὸ ἀγαθόν.

Simplicius sayth: 'Whatsoever is beautifull, commeth of the first and chiefe beautie: All trueth commeth of Gods trueth: And all beginnings must needes bee reduced to one beginning; which must not bee a particular beginning as the rest are, but a beginning surpassing al other beginnings, & mounting farre above them, and gathering them all into himselfe, yea, and giving the dignitie of beginning to all beginnings, accordingly as is convenient for every of their natures.' Also, 'The Good (sayth he) is the Welspring & Originall of al things. It produceth all things of it selfe, both the first, the middlemost, and the last. The one Goodnesse, bringeth forth many Goodnesses; The one Unitie, many Unities; The one Beginning, many Beginnings. Now, as for Unitie, Beginning, Good, and God; they be all but one thing. For God is the first cause of all, & all particular Beginnings or Grounds, are fast settled and grounded in him.

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He is the Cause of Causes, the God of Gods, and the Goodnesse of Goodnesses.'

Porphyrus acknowledged the one GOD, who alone is every where, and yet in no one place; who filleth all places, and yet is conteyned in no place; by whom all things are, both which are and which are not. This God doth he call the Father, which reigneth in all: & he teacheth us to sacrifice our Soules unto him in silence, and with chaste thoughts. On the other side, he acknowledgeth the other Gods as his Creatures and Servants, some visible, & some invisible: unto whom he alloweth a materiall service, farre differing from the service of the true God.

As touching *Plotin* his Schoolemaister, surnamed the Divine, whom the Oracle of *Apollo* (as is reported by *Porphyrus* himselfe) did register in the number of the wise men of this world, and in the number of the Gods in the other world: He that would alledge the things which he hath spoken divinely concerning the unitie of the one God, should be fayne to set downe his whole treatises undiminished. The Summe is, 'That there is one Beginner of all things, who hath all things and is all things, whose having of the is as though he had them not, because his possessing of them is not as of things that were another mans; and his being them is as though he were them not, because he is neither all things, nor any thing among things, but the power of all things. That this Beginner dwelleth in himself, is sufficient of himself, & of himselfe bringeth forth all manner of Essences, Soules, and lives, as being more than Essence, and all life. That by his Unitie he produceth multitude, which could be no multitude, unlesse he abode One. As touching the undergods, he sayth that they neither bee nor can bee happie of themselves, but onely by the same meane that men can become happie; namely, by beholding the light of understanding, which is GOD, through their parttaking whereof they abide in blessednesse. Yea, he affirmeth that the Soule of the whole world surmized by the *Platonists*, is not happie but by that meanes: namely, by beholding the light which created it, like as the Moone shineth not, but by the over-shining of the Sunne upon her. That was the very opinion of the *Platonists* as well old as newe concerning the onely

Porphyrus in his 2. booke of Abstinence, & in his booke of Occasions. chap. 21.

Porphyrus in the life of *Plotin*.

Plotin in his first *Enneade* lib. 8. Chap. 2. *Enneade* 6. lib. 4. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. & in the whole 6. booke, and in the 3. *Enne:* lib. 8.

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Augustin: de
Civitate Dei.
lib. 10. cap. 2.

one God, notwithstanding that of all Philosophers they were most given to the serving and seeking out of the bodilesse Spirites, whom we call Angels and Devils, and whom they called Gods and Féeends.

The Peripa-
teticks.

Now let us come to the *Peripateticks*, and begin at *Aristotle Platoes* Disciple, who notwithstanding was unreligious in many places, in not yéeilding unto God his due glorie, after the maner of these superstitious folke, who are overliberal in bestowing it upon others: and yet even in him shall we finde this selfsame trueth. *Aristotle* leadeth us by many movings, unto one first mover, whom he declareth to bee infinite, without beginning and without ende. From thence a man may step further: for that which is infinite can be but one, because (as I have sayd afore) the infinitenesse of one restreyneth the power of all others. Afterward he defineth him to be Living, Immortall, and Everlasting. And againe, [he nameth him] the onely possessor of wisdom, the Beginner of all Causes, and such like: None of all which things can bee attributed to any mo than onely one. Yet notwithstanding, he setteth certeyne Godheads in the Heaven, in the Starres, and in the Sunne & Moone; unto which Godheads he allotteth the governmēt of those things, and termeth them heavenly Mynds, First substances, unchaungeable and unpassable, which (in his opinion) cannot wexe old, because they be above the first Movable, & consequently above tyme. Yea, and Common custome, with the force of Love caried him so farre, as to set up Images unto *Juno* and *Jupiter*, under the name of Saviours, for the life of *Nicanor*, and to doe Sacrifize to a woman whom he loved, as the *Athenians* did unto *Ceres*. But yet in his Abridgement of Philosophie, which he dedicated in his olde age unto *Alexander*, his finall doctrine is this. 'This world (sayth he) wherein all things are orderly disposed, is mainteyned by God; and the highest thing that is in it, is that it is Gods dwelling place. No nature is sufficient of it selfe to indure, if it bee not assisted by his tuition. He is the Father of Gods & Men, the breeder and Mainteyner of all the things whereof this world is composed; and yet for all that, he entreth not into them, but his power and providence oversitting them from above, attayne unto all things, move the Heaven the

Aristotle in
his Meta-
phisiks, and
in the first
booke of his
Naturall
Philosophy.

Aristotle in
his booke of
Heaven.

Aristotle in
his booke of
the world,
which Justine
the Martir
affirmeth to
have bin
named his
Abridgement
of Philosophie.
γενέσις.

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Sunne and the Moone, Preserve the things on earth, and make all and every thing to doe according to their nature.' He likeneth him to the great King of *Persia*, who from out of his privy Chamber governed his whole Empyre by his power and officers; saving (sayth he) that the one is God infinite in power, and the other a very bace and feeble wight. He sayth moreover, that all the names which are attributed to the Gods, are but devices to expresse the powers of the onely one God the Prince and Father of all. And therefore it is more behofefull to sende the Readers to the reading of that whole treatise of his throughout, than to set in any more thereof here, because they shall there see a woonderfull eloquence matched with this goodly divinitie.

'That which the first and most divine (saith his disciple *Theophrastus*) will have all things to bee exceeding good; and it may be also, that he is above the reache of all knowledge and unsearchable.' Againe, 'There is (saith he) One divine beginner of all things, whereby they have their beeing and continuance.' But in his booke of Savors he passeth further, and saith that God created all things of nothing. But to create of nothing, presupposeth an infinite power; and againe, that power presupposeth an unitie.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Providence written to the Emperour *Antonine*, attributeth Providence over all things unto one only God, which can doe whatsoever he listeth, as appeereth by all his whole discourse. And he was of such renowne amög all the *Aristotelians*, that they called themselves *Alexandrians* after his name. To be short, the most part of the Interpreters and Disciples of *Aristotle*, found it so néedefull to acknowledge one onely Beginner, and so absurd to maintaine any mo than one; that to the intent they might not confesse any such absurditie in their Mayster, they doe by all meanes possible excuse whatsoever might in his workes be construed to the contrarie.

As touching the *Stoiks* of auncientest tyme, wee have no more than is gathered into the writings of their adversaries; who do all attribute unto them [the maintenance of] the unitie & infinitenesse of GOD, according to this which *Aristotle* reporteth of *Zeno*; namely that there must néedes be but one God, for els there should be no God at all,

Theophrastus in his *Metaphisiks*.
ὑπερβατόν.

Theophrastus in his booke of Savours.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Providence, and *Cyrrill* against *Julian* the Apostata.

"

The *Stoiks*.

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because it behoveth him to be singularly good and also almightie, which were utterly impossible if there were any mo than one.

Also *Simplicius* reporteth of *Cleanthes*, that in his Iambick verses he praied God to voutsafe to guyde him by his cause, which guideth all things in order, the which cause hee calleth destinie and the cause of causes. But the two chief among them whose doctrine we have in writing, will easely make us to credit all the residue.

Epictetus in
Arrianus.

Epictetus the *Stoik* (whose words *Proclus*, *Simplicius*, and even *Lucian* himselfe held for Oracles;) speaketh of only one God. 'The first thing (saith he) that is to be learned, is, that there is but one God, and that hee provideth for all things, and that from him neither deede nor thought can be hidden.' He teacheth us to resort unto him in our distresses, to acknowlegd him for our Master and Father, to lift up our eyes unto him alone if wee will get out of the Quamyre of our sinnes, to seeke our felicitie there, and to call upon him in all things both great and small. Of all the Goddes that were in time past, he speaketh not a word: but surely he saith that if we call upon the onely one God, hee will informe us of all things by his Angels.

Seneca every-
where.

As for *Seneca*, he never speaketh otherwise. 'What doth God (saith he) to such as behold him? Hee causeth his workes not to be without wnesse.' And againe, 'To serve God (saith he) is to Reigne. God exerciseth us with afflictions to trie mans nature: and he requireth no more but that wee should pray to him.' These ordinary speeches of his, shewe that he thought there was but one God. But he proceedeth yet further. 'From things discovered (sayth he) wee must proceede to things undiscovered, and seeke out him that is auncienter than the world, of whom the Starres proceede.' And in the end he concludeth, that the World and all that is conteyned therein, is the worke of God. Also he calleth him the Foüder, Maker, & Creator of the World, and the Spirit which is shed foorth upon all things both great and small. And in his Questions: 'It is he (sayth he) whom the *Hetruscans* or *Tuscans* meane by the names of *Jupiter*, Gardian, Governor, & Lord of the whole world. If thou call him Destinie, thou shalt not deceive thy selfe; for al things

Seneca in his
Booke of the
happy lyfe, &
in his Treatise
of Comfort.

Seneca in his
naturall Ques-
tions, and in
his bookes of
Benefiting.

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depend upon him, & from him comes the causes of all causes. If thou call him Providence, thou sayest wel; for by his direction doth the World holde on his course without swarving, and utter forth his Actions. If thou call him Nature, thou doest not amisse: for he it is of whom all things are bred, and by whose Spirite we live. To be short, wilt thou call him the World? In very deede he is the whole which thou seest, and he is in all the parts thereof, bearing up both the whole World and all that is thereof.' By this sentence we may also shewe, that by the terme *Nature* the Philosophers ment none other than God himselfe, accordingly as *Seneca* sayth in another place, that God and Nature are both one, like as *Anngæus* & *Seneca* be both one man. And whereas he sayth that God may be called the World; it is all one with that which he sayth in another place: namely, 'GOD is whatsoever thou seest, and whatsoever thou seest not': That is to say, whereas thou canst not see him in his proper béeing, thou seest him in his works. For in other places also he defineth him to a Mynd and Wisedome without bodie, which cannot be seene but in understanding. Now, of all the former things by him repeated in many places, none can bee verified of any mo than one. For he that maketh all, governeth all, and is all, leaveth nothing for any other to make, governe, or be, otherwise than from himself. But he speaketh yet more expressly, saying; 'Thou considrest not the authoritie & majestie of thy Judge, the Governor of the World, the God of Heaven and of all Gods. All the God-heads which we worship every man by himselfe, depend wholly upon him.' And againe; 'When he had layd the foundations of this goodly Masse, although he had spread out his power throughout the bodie thereof: yet notwithstanding he made Gods to be officers of his kingdome, to the end that every thing should have his guyde.' Now, this is after the same maner that the holy Scripture speaketh of the Angelles. So then, he is not onely God the excellentest of all Gods; but also their very Father, Author, and Maker.

Let us yet further adde *Cicero* and *Plutarch*, who have of every Sect taken what they thought good. Both of them speake ordinarily but of one God, the author and governer of all things, unto whome they attribute all things, and in that

Aristotle
calleth him
τὸ πᾶν,
that is to say,
All the whole.

Seneca in his
booke of
sodeinedeath,
& in his
exhortations
alleged by
Laëtantius.
lib. 1. cap. 5.

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ordinary style is their word *Nature*, which surmounteth the custome of their tyme; but yet doth their doctrine expresse much more héere. *Cicero* treating of this matter in his booke intytuled 'Of the nature of the Gods,' acknowledgeth one soveraine GOD, whom he calleth the God of Gods, & that is the difference which he maketh. 'The Nature of the Gods (sayth he) is neither mightie nor excellent; for it is subject to the selvesame (beit Nature or Necessitie) which ruleth the Heaven, the Earth, and the Sea. But there is not any thing so excellent as God, who ruleth the World, and is not subject to Nature, but commaundeth Nature it selfe.' And he is full of the like sentences.

Cicero in his booke of the Nature of the Gods.

Plutarke in his treatise of Isis and Osyris. of Oracles that are ceased: Of calmenesse of Mynd: Against ignorant Princes:

Of Platonicall Questions: Against the Stoiks: Against Epicures: What is ment by this Greeke word εἰ, ei.

Varro, as he is alledged by S. Austin in the Citie of God. lib. 4. cap. 9. 11 & lib. 7. cap. 5. 9. 23.

As for *Plutarke*, he suffereth himselfe to raunge overoften into fables; but yet in good earnest he speaketh thus. 'Let us not worshop the Elements, the Heaven, the Sunne, the Moone, and so foorth: for they be but Lookingglasses for us, wherein to consider the cunning of him that ordeyned all things; and all the World is but his Temple.' Againe: 'Wherefore doth *Plato* call God, the Father and Maker of all? He calleth him the Father of the begotten Gods, and of men, like as *Homere* also doth: but he calleth him the Creator of the things that have no life nor Reason. And therefore (sayth he in another place) he made the World as a Common house both to Men & Gods.' Yea, (sayth he further) 'Although there were many moe such Worldes as this is; yet notwithstanding the one onely God should governe them all.' Now this true God, whom he calleth the great God, the great Workemayster, the Sea of Beautie, the Ground of all good things, and the true Béeing, of whom alone it can be said: Thou art, and not thou hast bin or shalt be; is he whom he meaneth by the name of *Jupiter*, saying: 'That of the Gods, one is called Liberall, another Gentle, and a third the Dryver away of evill; but the great *Jupiter* is in Heaven, who hath care universally of all things.' Thus ye see then how all the Philosophers of all tymes, of all Sects, and of all Nations have agréed in one God: which is the thing that ye learned *Varro* noted very well; namely, that although the Teachers of the Heathen named many Gods and Goddesses: yet notwithstanding they comprehended them all under one, which was *Jupiter*, of whom the residue

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were but powers and functions: And this *Jupiter* is he whom such folk worshipped under another name, as worshipped the only one God without Images; and he sayth that so God ought to bee worshipped. And to that purpose alledgeth he these verses of the right learned Poet *Valerius Soranus*.

*The Iove almightie is the King of Kings and God of Gods,
One God, and all, the Father both and Moother of the Gods.*

But now it is tyme to come to the auncient Poets, which were also Philosophers, and who by their feynings opened the gap to the pluralitie of Gods. Among these the first that wee méete with is *Orpheus*, whom *Iustine* calleth the first Author of them, the first giver of names unto them, and the first blazer of their *Pedegrées*. But yet there is a Recantation of his in his Hymne unto *Musæus*, which is called his Testament, that is to say, his last doctrine, whereunto he would have men to sticke. 'Lift up thyne eyes (sayth he) to the only maker of the World; He is but one, bred of himselfe: and of that one are all things. He is all in all; he seeth all and is seene of none. He onely giveth both welfare and wofull teares and warre. He sitteth in Heaven governing all things; with his feete he toucheth the Earth, and with his right hād the utmost shores of the Sea. He maketh the Mountaynes, Rivers and deepe Sea to quake, and so forth.' And in another place he calleth him the Firstborne, the Great, the Apparant, who hath created an incorruptible house for them that are immortall. Also under the name of *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, he sayth of him as followeth.

*Looke up to that same only King, which did the world create.
Who being only one, selfbied, all other things begate.
And being with them all, unseene of any mortall wight,
Beholdeth all things; giving Man now weath and harts delight,
Now wofull warre: For sure there is none other King but hee.
I see him not, because the Clowdes a covert to him bee.
And in the eye of mortall man there is but mortall sight,
Too weake too see the lightfull Iove that ruleth all with right.
For sitting in the brazen Heaven aloft in Throne of gold,
He makes the earth his footstoole, and with either hand doth hola
The utmost of the Ocean waves: and at his presens quake
Both Mountaynes huge, & hideous Seas, and eke the Stygian Lake.*

Poetes.

Justin in his booke of Monarchie.
Justin to the Gentyles.
Athenagoras in his Treatise concerning the Resurrection.
The Recantation of Orpheus who is called the Author of the pluralitie of Gods.
Clemens in his Protrepik to the Gentyles.

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And anon after againe.

*The endlesse Skye and stately Heavens, and all things els besyde,
Did once within the Thundring Jove close hoorded up abyde.
The blessed Gods and Goddesses whose beeing is for ay,
And all things past or yet to come within Joves bowelles lay.
From Joves wyde womb did all things come; Jove is both first
& last;
Beginning, Middles, and End is Jove; From Jove are all things
past.
Jove layd foundation of the Earth, and of the starry Sky.
Jove reigneth King; The selvesame Jove of all things farre
and ny
The Father and the Author is. One power, one God is hee;
Alonly Great, one Lord of all. This royall Masse which wee
Behold, and all the things that are conteyned in the same,
As Fyre and Water, Earth and Ayre, and Titans golden flame
That shines by Day, and droopy Night, and every other thing
Are placed in the goodly House of Jove the heavenly King.*

Phocylides.

Phocilides followeth him in these wordes. 'There is but onely one God, mightie, wise and happie.' And againe, 'Honor the onely God.' Also, 'All of them are mortall men, God reigneth over their soules.' And *Theognis* (who is of the same tyme) speaketh not any otherwise. *Homere* (whom *Pythagoras* reporteth to be punished in Hell for making Fables of the Gods) cannot make a notabler difference betwene the true GOD and al the rest of the Gods whome men worshipped in this time; than when hee saith, That if they were all hanged at a Cheyne beneath; he would pull them up spight of their téeth: and also that he maketh them all too quake under him: and that whensoever there is any greater déede talked of, he speaketh alwaies but of one God in the singular number. Also *Hesiodus* who described ye pedegrees of the Gods, sheweth his beléef sufficiently in this onely one verse written to his brother.

Theognis.
Homer.

Hesiodus.

Both Goddes and Mortall Men, from one selfe race descend.

That is to say, All the Goddes are created by the onely one God.

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Likewise *Sophocles* saith thus.

*Certes of Goddes there is no mo but one,
Who made the Heavens, and eke the earth so round,
The dreadfull Sea which cleaps the same about,
And blustering Winds which rayze the Waves aloft.
But we fond men through folly gone astray,
Even to the hurt and damning of our soules,
Have set up Idols made of Wood and Stone,
Thinking lyke fooles, by meanes of honoring them
Too give full well too God his honor due.*

*Sophocles in
Cyrillus a-
gainst Julian
the Apostata.*

Euripides goeth yet further, saying.

*Thou Neptune, and thou Jupiter, and all
You other Goddes, so wicked are you all,
That if due Justice unto you were doone,
Both Heaven and Temples should be emptie soone.*

*Euripides
Clemens in
his*

And yet in defacing the false Goddes, hee ceaseth not to commend the onely true God in many places.

Aratus in the same place which is alledged by *S. Paule*, attributeth all to one *Jupiter*, whome hee would have to bee honored without ceassing.

*Aratus. Jovis
genus sumus.*

As touching the Latins, *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* attributeth the Creation of the World and of all things therein, unto the onely one God. And *Virgill* doth ordinarily call him the King of Goddes and Men; and hee describeth hym sheading forth his power to the uttermost coastes of Heaven and Earth, and with his vertue quickening the World, and all that is therein.

Ovid.

*Virgil in his
fourth booke
of Husbandry
& everywhere
else.*

But forasmuch as *Scævola* the Highpréest of the *Romaines* distinguished the Gods of old tyme into thrée sortes, that is to wit, Philosophicall, Poeticall, and Civill; and wee have séeene how the Philosophers and Poets, (notwithstanding their owne Wyndlases and fables, and the infinite superstitions of their tymes,) doe méete one another in the onely one GOD: let us sée consequently what the Civill sort will say unto us, that is to say, what hath bin beléeved, not onely by the learned sort of all Nations, but also by the very Nations themselves. Soothly so incredible hath the vanitie of men bin since their turning aside from the true way, that all Nations

*Scævola, as he
is alledged by
S. Austin in
the Citie of
God lib. 3.
Cap. 27.*

*The consent
of People.*

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have let them selves ronne looce after such absurdities as wee would not beleéve, if wee sawe not the like still at this day. Some worshipped the Heaven, the Plantes, and the Starres like silly soules which at their first comming into a Kings Court, doe thinke that the first gay appparelled man whome they méete with is the King. Some made Gods of the Goodes which God gave them. Some worshipped the Beastes which were for their benefite. And finally they made Goddes, not only of themselves, but also of their Speares, Shéelds and Swoordes, and buylded Temples to their owne Passions, as unto Fearefulnes, Hardines and such others; yea and even unto things so filthy and lothsome, as a man may bee ashamed and abashed to heare spoken of. Neverthelesse, the costumable use of such things made folke too have no regard of them, and the most spirituall sort of them were so possessed with Ambition, that it filled all their myndes to the full. Yet notwithstanding, when they were once awaked, and fell a little to the bethinking themselves as of a thing in very déede against Nature, they were ashamed of their doings, yea and even of themselves. ‘Why Sir, (answered they to Sainct Austin) Thinke you that our Forefathers were so foolish and blinde, as to beleeve that *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, *Pan*, and such others were Goddes? It is not possible. Nay, they beleaved but in the onely one GOD, whose giftes and functions they honored under divers names; and whatsoever is more, is but Superstition.’ Truely the *Egyptians* (as wee reade) did honour Divels, Men, Beastes, Serpents, and Plants: and to bee short, every thing was to them a GOD. But as touching the true GOD, they described him in their holy Carects as a Pilot alone governing a Ship. And all their divinitie (as is to be seene in *Iamblichus*,) was referred unto onely one God. Insomuch that the people of *Thebais* in *Ægipt*, rejected all the said absurdities of many Goddes, saying that there was none other God but only he whom they called Cnef, which was never borne, nor could ever dye, that is to say the Everlasting. Also in *Say* a Citie of *Ægipt*, the Image of *Pallas*, that is to say of Wisdome, had his Inscription: ‘I am all that hath bin, is, or ever shalbe, and there was never yet any mortall man that uncovered my face.’ And *Proclus* addeth thereto, ‘And the Fruites that I have brought forth is the

In the Citie
of God. lib. 4.
cap. 24.

Iamblichus
concerning
the Mysteries
of the Egip-
tians. cap. 37.
39.
Plutarke in
his treatise of
Isis and
Osyris.

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Sonne,' as who would say, It is the Wisdome whereby God worketh, which is the Goddesseworker. Now if even among the *Ægyptians* the opinion of the one onely God was not quenched: much more reason have we to deeme, that it was not quenched among other nations.

In the Lawes of the twelve Tables were written these words: 'Let Men come to the Goddess chastly. Let Pompee bee removed away: If they doe otherwise, God himselfe (that is to say, *Jupiter* whom onely they called the most gracious and most mightie) will revenge it.' Yet notwithstanding, it is certeyne that afterward *Rome* became the very Sinckpan of all the Idolatries of the world: for in winning of Nations, they wan also their Superstitions. But could all this wpe out in them the print of Nature? Nay, contrarywise, *Tertullian* speaking of the Heathen of his tyme, sayth thus: 'As wholly as their Soules are brought in bondage to false Goddess, yet when they awake as a drunken man out of his sleepe, they name but one God, and the speech of every man is, as it pleaseth GOD. 'They call upon him as their Judge, saying; God seeth it, I referre my self to God, God requite it me. O record of a Soule by nature Christian! To be short, in uttering those wordes, they looke up to Heaven, and not to the Capitoll: for they knowe that Heaven is the Seate of the living God.' *Lactantius* who came a good while after, saith the like. 'When they sweare, (sayth he) when they wish, whē they give thanks; they name neither *Jupiter*, nor Gods in the plurall number, but the onely one God: so greatly doth Nature constreyne them to acknowledge the truth. If there come an Alarum, or if they be threatened with warre; they do after the same maner: But as soone as the daunger is past, by and by they runne to the Temples of many Gods, whereas notwithstanding they called but the one God to their succour.' And in very truth, if we consider the naturall motions which we have in our afflictions; they part not our harts into divers prayers at once, but doe put us in mynd of onely one God, and to offer our prayers up unto him.

Now, forasmuch as Nature, Mans wisdome, and the voyce of all people, doe in all Languages commend, woorship, and confesse one onely God: It remayneth for us to see whether wēe may not gather the like, even by the very confession of

Cicero in his second booke of Lawes.
Deos adeunto castē: opes amovento: si secus faxint, Deus ipse vindex erit: that is: Goe to God chastly: remove away riches: If any doe otherwise God himselfe will punish him.
Tertullian in his Defence.

Lactantius.
lib. 2. cap. 1.

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Lactantius
lib. 1. Chap. 6.
Justine in his
Apologie.
The Oracles
of the Sibylles.

the false Goddes themselves, which have gone about to deface his name by al meanes. It is a case disputed among the learned, by what Spirite the *Sybilles* spake, because it is not inconvenient that God should compell the very Devels to set foorth his prayses. Howsoever the case stand, they speake but of onely one God, saying.

*There is but onely one true God, right great, and everlasting,
Almightie, and invisible, which seeth every thing,
But cannot bee beheld himselfe of any fleshly man.*

Lactan. lib. 1.
cap. 6.

Also they crye out against the false Goddes, and exhort men to beate downe their Altars, accounting them happie which give themselves to the glorifying of the only one God. But let us heere *Apollo* himselfe. Being asked at *Colophon* by one *Theophilus* whether there was a God or no, and what he is: He answered in 21. Gréeke verses rehearsed by *Lactantius*, whereof I will holde me contented with the latter thrée, which are to be englished thus.

*The selfebred, bred without the helpe of Moother,
Wise of himselfe, whose name no wight can tell,
Doth dwell in fyre beyond all reach of thought:
Of whom we Angelles are the smallest part.*

Porphyrus in
his tenth
book of the
prayes of
Philosophy.

The rest of these Verses commend and set foorth the Majestie of the great God, but these suffice for this matter. Heere the Féend doth what he can to magnifie himselfe, saying that he is an Angell and a little portion of God, but yet hee acknowledgeth him as his Sovereine. *Porphyrus* the great enemy of Christians, rehearseth many other like. The same *Apollo* being asked how GOD was to be worshipped, answered in 22. Verses, calling him the everlasting Father, the Walker upon the Heaven of Heavens, the Fashioner or framer of substances, the father of all things, the father of all wights both mortall and immortall. And on the other side he calleth all others his Children, his Servants, his Messengers, and the Heraults or blazers abroad of his prayses. In another answer comprised in ten Verses, he calleth him the burning Flame, the Welspring and Originall of all things, the author of life, and so foorth; and afterward he concludeth,

*I am but Phœbus; more of mee ye get not at my hand;
It is as little in my mynd as I can understand.*

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Being asked at another tyme by the *Founder of *Constantinople*, whether he should resist an enemy of his or no; he answered thus:

*Apollo is not of that mynd; beware
How thou doest deale; he is too strong for thee.
For God it is that makes him undertake
This enterprise, and doth the same maynteyne,
Even God I tell thee under whom both Heaven
And Earth and Sea and every thing therein,
And Phæbus eke and Hell it selfe doth quake.*

Proclus sayth, that the Oracles acknowledged the great God the Welspring of the fountayne of all things. And for an example he alledgeth this Oracle of fower Verses; 'From God springeth the generation of all matter; from the same ground riseth the finenesse of the fyre, and the Globes of the World, and whatsoever els is bred, and so forth.' That is the answer of *Apollo* the God so greatly renowned among the Heathen, when he was asked what God was. And being urged to tell what he himselfe was, and how he would be called, he sayd:

Call me the Feend that knoweth all and is right sage and wise.

And at another tyme he sayth thus.

*Wee Feends which haunt both Sea and Land through all the
world so wide,
Do trāble at the whip of God which all the world doth guide.*

These foresayd Oracles are reported by *Porphyrius*, *Proclus*, and other Heathen men, wherof some be rehearsed also by *Lactantius*: which may suffize to shewe how the very Devils doe beleve one God, and quake at him. But I hope I shall bee pardoned for handling this matter a little at the largest, because the consent of all men in that behalfe which I have already proved, is contrary to the opinion of many men. And therefore ye see heere how the World, Men, and the Devils themselves crye out with the holy Scripture, 'Hearken O Israell, the Lord thy God is but one God, the God of Gods, who onely worketh wonders, & hath not his like among the Gods.' And that is the thing which I have gone about to prove in these last two Chapters.

Proclus upon
Timæus.

*Deuter. 6.
Psalm. 85.*

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The fourth Chapter.

What it is that we can comprehend concerning God.

Man cannot
comprehend
God.

NOW, albeit that the least things which are in Nature and in our selves, doe sufficiently shewe us that there is but one GOD: Yet notwithstanding all Nature is not able to teach us what that God is, neither is man, in nature able to comprehend any thing of him: and the reason therof is evident in both twayne. In Man, because the greater can never be comprehended by the lesser, neither can Man have any thing in understanding, which hath not first bene in his senses, as from whence procéedeth unto him the beginning of all naturall knowledge: And he neither seeth nor perceiveth God in himself, but only by his effects. In Nature, because it is a thing wrought by God, and no work or effect how great so ever it be, can perfectly expresse the cause or worker thereof. Man is able to discourse after a sort, of the things that are lesse than himselfe, as of Beastes, Plants, and Stones. And yet if hee will enter into their substaunces; he must néedes stop short, and is constreyned to stay upon the histories of them, confessing his knowledge to be but ignorance. If he come to himself, to knowe his owne Soule by the power of his Soule: by and by he is at his wits ende: For the maner of his discourse is but to procéede from kynd to kynd, and to passe from one reason to another. But on the contrary part, his mynd seeth not it selfe, but onely turneth into it selfe, leaving not any thing empty without it self whereunto to extend, no more than a Circle doth. And yet notwithstanding, every thing is equall to it selfe, and measurable by it selfe. What shall we then thinke that Man can doe, if he advance himselfe to the considering of Goddes nature; seeing that the least Creatures that are doe put him to his trumpe? That is the very thing which hath made the ignorant sort to overshoot themselves so farre, as to counterfect God by a shape like themselves: which thing the very Beastes (sayth *Xenophanes*) would have done, if they had bin Paynters, as which cannot ordinarily conceive any greater thing than themselves. Ye see then how Man is of himself too farre unable to

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conceive such a Greatnesse. Againe, if we consider the effects, a man planteth, buyldeth, paynteth, and weaveth a thousande divers workes: and wee thinke it not straunge that the brute Beastes conceive not thereby what Man is, howbeit that there is alwaies some proportion of understanding betwene Creature and Creature; but betwene the Creature and the Creator there is none at all. Nay, there is yet this more, that a man shall see and feele the workes of another man, and he shall knowe from whence he taketh his stuffe, after what maner he matcheth things together, and what Arte he hath observed: But shall he for all that, knowe what the Soule or Mynd of that man is? No; nor yet his owne Soule. For his doings come nothing néere to that which he is, no not so néere as the heate which the Sunne sheadeth into us from above, approacheth néere to the naturall power that is in the Sunne; the which notwithstanding wee durst not take upon us to describe, if we had never felt it otherwise than in a Prison. But if thou couldest have entered into the mynde of that man at the making of his worke, thou shouldest have seene it farre more beautifull there: and all that ever he could do or thou say, is alwaies farre lesse than his Conceyt; and yet the same Conceyt of his is but as a sparke of the Mynd, whereof the same worke is a part. Now then, if thou being a man, canst not conceive the mynde of a man by his doings, though thou beare the like mynd about thée thy selfe; and if his doings (of what sorte so ever they be) come farre short of that which he himselfe is: darest thou be so bold as to describe God by his works what he is, and to dispute of his substaunce? And if thou canst not conceive him by his workes; how wilt thou then conceive him, seeing thou canst not behold him otherwise? To this purpose we have the common Historie of *Simonides*, who being asked by *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* what God is; demaunded one daies respite to give answer, and afterward two, and then fower, and in the end confessed that the more he thought thereon, the lesse he understood thereof; and yet he was the man which taught very well, that God was the very wisdom it selfe. *Xenophon*, *Plato*, *Plotin* and others say that he is a thing which cannot bee found, nor ought to be sought. To bee short, all the Philosophers crye in one voyce with *David*,

Cicero in his booke of the Nature of the Gods.

Plotinus Enn. 6. lib. 8. cap. 11.

Galen in his 9. booke upon the Decrees of Hippocrates.

Although it appeare by certeine demonstration, that it is a divine work-mayster that hath procreated us: yet can we not by any wit or reason conceive,

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neither what
his substance
is, nor how
he made us.
For we must
consider that
it is a farre
other thing,
to shew that
a certeyne
Providence
made us : than
to knowe the
substance,
eyther of our
owne Soule,
or of him
that made us.

* *Posuit tene-
bras latibulum
suum, Defeci
in Atriis tuis
Domine.*

τὸ θεῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ
Zeῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἡν. νοῦς,
δύναμις, ἐντε-
λέχεια.
τὸ ἀγαθόν.

*‘Lord, thou hast made darknesse thy Covert, Lord I am wearied even in thyne outter Courtes.’ Yet notwithstanding, whereas men are not able to attayne to Gods substaunce; they have gone about to betoken it by the excellentest names that they could devise, as we have séene in the last Chapter. They considered y^t forasmuch as all things have their beeing from him, he himselfe was the sovereigne Béeing; and that to be so, it behoved him to bee ever, and therefore they called him the Everlasting. And that to have béeing without life; is nothing: and that he which giveth life to all, must needes bee all life: and therefore they call him the living God. And againe, that life without understanding is dead, and understanding without power is unperfect; and that he which giveth both of them to all, must néedes have thē in himselfe for all: and therefore they call him Mynd and Myght, attributing unto him the perfect knowledge and infinite power of all things. Finally, forasmuch as to Bée, to Live, to Understand, and to be mightie, the higher that they be, are so much the lesse to be estéemed, if good also abound not on all partes: because men on the other side receive so many good turnes at his hand, they call him Good, excéeding good, and the goodnesse it selfe; assuring themselves that no other name doth so peculiarly fit him as that. Yet notwithstanding neither that, nor any thing els that we can imagine more, can come néere him by infinite distance Let us attribute unto him the highest degré of all perfectiones that can be, (as in very déede he must néedes have them at the highest pitch, seeing that there is not any that hath measured them unto him:) yet doe we attribute unto him but imperfection. For if any of them be finite, then is he not infinite, as we ought to conceive him to be: and infinite it cannot be, because the one of them should by the infinitenesse thereof shut up the other within bounds. Therefore it behoveth us to conceive a most single singlenesse, which neverthesse in one perfection comprehendeth al perfectiōs, as the roote of them; which séemeth a thing contrarie to mans understanding: that is to wit, that his Providence is no more Providence than Justice, nor his Justice more Justice than mercie, nor his knowledge more knowledge then life, nor his life more life than single béeing: To be short, that his being is such a being as is wholly and

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alonly all, I meane altogether déede, altogether forme, altogether perfection and so forth. And that is the thing which God himselfe teacheth us, in that being asked his name by *Moyes*, hee answered him, 'I am that I am': which name the Jewes had in such reverence, that the very Priestes themselves (as they say) named it not but at the great Feastes. And yet in the judgement of *Plotine*, that name is not sufficient for him. Also we call him the good, and yet is that too little for him; for Good is the good of goodnes, as heate is the heate of hotnes. But God is the goodnes it selfe; and whatsoever is good, is of him. Yet notwithstanding, the very word Goodnes is not sufficient; for goodnes hath his being in some substance. But in God there cannot any thing be conceived, which is not substantially, yea and more than substantially substance. Againe, when we say, he seeth, he knoweth, he understandeth; these things have relation to tyme; and hee that made time is without the reache of time. Also when wee say, hee is héere, or hee is there, it is all one; for hee that made all places is not contained in any place. And therefore *Trismegistus* saith very well, That he is better and mightier then any name can expresse. And *Salamon* cryeth out with admiration, what is his name? As who would say, man is not able to utter or conceive any word y^t doth properly fit him, neither in Nownes nor in Verbes nor in complet spéech, because man is an essence subjeēt to time, place and accidents, which cannot passe beyond it selfe. Now then, what is the uttermost poynt that all our fine conceites can reache unto? Verily the most in effect that we can knowe concerning his being, is that we can understand nothing at al thereof. Insomuch that whatsoever we say thereof affirmatively, whether we terme it Soothnesse or Wisdome, or Kingdome, or Unitie, or Godhead, or any thing els which we meane thereby, it can not fit him. Finally, we can no more name him than comprehend him, how high so ever we thincke we mount up. And therefore we must with *Trismegistus* call upon him in silence; and say unto him with *David*, Lord, the best prayse that I can give unto thée is silence.

Now séeing we cannot knowe what God is, but by not knowing it, it standeth us on hand to knowe what he is not,

Mercurius
Trismegistus
in his
Pœmander.
cap. 2. & 6.
*Ehjeb asher
ehjeb.*
Plotin.
Ennead. 7.
lib. 7. cap. 38.

Mercurius in
his Pœmader.
Prover. 30.
v. 4.

*θεωρεῖται ὁ
ἐπέκεινα νοῦς
sayth Porph.
ἀνοητὰ κρείτ-
τονι νοήσεως,
ὡς περὶ τοῦ
καθεύδοντος.
in præposi-
tionibus.*

Dennis in his
booke of the
names of God.

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σιωπῇ φωνου-
μέη.

*Tibi silentium
laus.*

What God is
not.

Unmovable.

1. Phisik. 3.
τὸ ἀκίνητον.

ἀτρεμές.
Out of the
verses of
Parmenides
reported by
Simplicius.

Unchaunge-
able.

which is no small helpe for us to know him after a sort. Wherein we must followe a cleane contrarie rule. For as we have said, that of all the things that are spoken and affirmed of Gods essence or substance, none fitteth him, being taken strictly: so whatsoever is spoken therof negatively, shalbe found true, being taken after the same maner: Inso-much that that man may bee sayd to bee most skilfull in that behalfe, which knoweth most Negatives or Remotions (as they terme them.) To make this poynt yet clearer, nature hath taught us by the divers movings which we see héere beneath, that there is a GOD which is the first mover of the whole world. And by the same reason, we say that he him- selfe is unmovable, that is to say, removeth not at all. For we see that the nature of him which moveth, insomuch as he moveth, is to be and to be settled in rest. Even our Soule (as in respect of the body) is unmovable, notwithstanding that it cause and procure all the movings of the body: and the mo things that a man intendeth to move, the more it behoveth him to have his mind settled. Forasmuch as God is evermore dooing, he is ever at rest, and he hath not his resting in another but in hym selfe, or rather is his owne rest himself. And therefore the auncient Philosophers called him τὸ ἀκί- νητον, τὸ ἀτρεμές, that is to say, ‘the unmovable and stedfast,’ to put a difference betwéene him and the heaven, the Planets, and the Starres, which are subject to moving, and whom the ignorance of folke hath called Gods. Hereuppon we say also that he is unchangeable: for the change of a thing in it self, as a kind of moving which tēdeth out of it self. As for exāple, He that desireth or coveteth, desireth or coveteth yē thing which he hath not. But God is one, & al together; neither is it possible for him to receive being from any other: for nothing is changed but by some other thing, which in some respect is more mightier thā it, as Wood is changed by Fyre. But al things have their power & force frō God alone. Therefore by this terme *Unchaungeable*, we deny him to be lyke the immortall soules, which admit such passions as we perceive, or also to the very bodillesse Spirites, whome we call Angels, & the Philosophers call Gods; who be not unchangeable, saving so farre foorth as they rest in yē beholding of him which cānot be changed. And it maketh

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nothing against the matter, that we see so divers changes in all things. For it is one thing to change ones selfe, & another thing to will y^t there should be a chaunge; like as it is one thing to move ones selfe, & another thing to will y^t there be a moving. The Sunne maketh many divers changes in the things which we see héere beneath, he maketh things gréene, hee maketh things yellow, he rypeneth things, he withereth things & so forth, and yet notwithstanding he changeth no whit of his heate; and had he also a mynd (as some suppose him to have,) he might also wil al these chaunges without changing himself. So also may God, and much better. He without altering his own being, willett & maketh al the changes in the beings of things: & yet it is as certeine y^t he is unchangeable, & that if he were not so y^e whole chaungeable nature should perish; as it is certaine that if he were not *unmoveable*, all moving should utterly cease. Now out of these two negatives we drawe a third, namely y^t he hath neither beginning nor end, which thing we call *Everlastingnes*. For the beginning and ending of all things, procéedeth of moving and chaunge: and therefore he that is not subject to thē, can have neither beginning nor end. Moreover, Time is but a measure of moving, wherin there is both a forenesse & an afternesse. He therefore which is not subject to moving, is not subject to time, and he which is not subject to time, hath not his being by continuance of succession from one moving to another. And so Gods being is altogether at once, which is the peculiar propertie of everlastingnes. And whereas we say, he hath bin, and he shall be; it is as much to say as there was never any tyme when he was not, neither shall it ever come to passe that he shall cease to be.

Everlasting.

Againe, being everlasting he is not subject to any passive possibilitie; that is to say, looke whatsoever he is, he is the same actually and in very déede, and he cannot become any other thing than he is alreadie. For, were there any passive possibilitie in him as from himselfe, then should there be a chaunge in him; and if it were from elsewhere, then should there be a moving from possibilitie to déede, or to dooing; & he is not subject to any of them both. Furthermore, Everlastingnesse cannot be in way of possibilitie, but only

Mere A&.

From Possi-
bilitie into
deed.

OF THE TREWNES

A grayne may
become an
herbe, and a
kernell a tree:
which they be
not so long
as they con-
tinue a grayne
and a kernell.
Unmateriall.

God is single
and uncom-
pounded.

actually and in very déede. For every maner of déede being simply taken is afore the possibilitie thereof, as the cause is afore his effect, forasmuch as the possibilitie is (as ye would say) quickened by the déede. As for example, from a graine to an Herbe, and from a kernell to a Trée by the power of the Sunne. But as for Everlastingnesse, it can abyde neither forenesse nor afternesse; and therefore looke whatsoever it can bee, it is the same all at once, and actually or in very déede, and ever. Wherupō it followeth also immediatly, that God is neither matter nor materiall: for the propertie of matter is to be merely passive; that is to say, capable of divers formes or shapes, and such as may in possibilitie receive, being it selfe altogether naked and such as the Philosophers describe it to bee. By these conclusions we come to another, which is, that God is not compounded. For whatsoever is so, we say is of later tyme than the things whereof it is compounded. But God is everlasting, and unto him nothing can be new. Againe, Compounding is a knitting of many things into one; & ere those things could bee united in very déede, it behoved thē to be first in possibilitie; that is to say, to bee capable thereof. Now, as for God, he is not a thing in possibilitie (which is an unperfect beeing) but altogether actually and in very déede.

Moreover, wee say that God made all things, and knoweth all things. Now, if he had in him the nature of any of them, the same would trouble the natures of the rest, as wee see that the tongue of a sicke man that is sicke of an Agewe, is unable to judge of the tast of things, because it is furred by a cholerick humor; and the eye which hath any matter therein, can see nothing. It followeth then that too make and too knowe all things, God must néedes bee very single, and not holding any thing at al in him. And the more single hee is, the more is hee capable of the innumerable multitudes of things; like as the eye is then most capable of all colours and the eare of all voyces; when [in themselves] the one is least troubled with noyzes and the other with colours. Whereupon it followeth that seeing he is not compounded, he cannot be a bodie: for all bodies are conteyned within boundes, and have partes, which thing most people have knowne well enough as *Pythagorian* reporteth. And not being a

Bodylesse.
Numenius
περί τοῦ
ἀγαθοῦ.

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bodie, he cannot be in place, neither wholly nor partly. By reason whereof, wee may say in strict speech, that he is no where, that is to say, that no part of him is limited within any place to be poynted at. Notwithstanding, like as he made all things by the power of his béeing; so doth the same power enter into all things, fill all things and conteyne all things. And forasmuch as the same is undividable, it is whole in all, and whole in every part: and so likewise is he himselfe; that is to say, he is everywhere, whole throughout, in whom all things have their béeing, howbeit that hee is not determinatly or definitely in any thing. Wee have an image hereof in our owne mynd, which yet notwithstanding is but a vayne shadowe. For, in as much as all the things which we conceive are lesse than we; they be in the mynd without intermingling of the mynd with them, and the mynd after a certeyne fashion toucheth them all, although it bee not comprehended in any of them. Now, if all these things be in our mynd, because they be entered into it by our senses: how much more shall all essences be in God and he in all of them, seeing that all of them procéde from him, and that his onely conceyving of them hath brought them forth? Now then, let us not imagine any intermingling in this behalfe. The light of the Sunne continueth entierly throughout; it cannot bee devided intoo partes, nor shet up in any place, nor severed from the welspring thereof: it sheadeth it selfe into all places, it filleth all places, and it is present with all things which we see, (I speake after the maner of the Divines) in essence, in power, and in presence. The Ayre is lightened with the presence thereof, and darkened with the absence, and wee perceyve both twayne of them; and yet for al that, it intermingleth not it self with the Ayre, ne leaveth any whit of it selfe into it. And shall wee presume to thinke lesse of the light which is not to bee conceived but in understanding; considering that wee see the like with our eyes? Or shall wee thinke it straunge that GOD should bee both every where and nowhere, considering how wee see that from a bodie there isseweth such a bodillesse thing, as without touching any of them, lighteneth them all? And if a light shine in all things that shine; shall not the sovereigne essence bee in all things that are? And seeing that things

Place is to be considered, eyther as a thing created, or as a conteyner of a thing placed. This way God is nowhere: the other way he is every where. So is he both every where, and nowhere. No where by limitation or poynting downe of place, & every where by filling all places.

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could not have bin made unlesse Gods power (which is his very essence) had bin present with all things & with every of them; shall any thing let him from being present with all things still? Now, like as the light of the Sunne hath divers effects through the disposition of mens eyes, and of the shéer-nesse of things, and the diversities of the substances whereon it lighteth: so is Gods presence divers too divers things, and yet is it without any diversitie in it selfe. ‘He is (sayth *S. Austin*) in himself, as the beginning and the end: to the World, as the Author and governor thereof: to his Church, as a father in his House: to our Soules, as a Bridegroom in his Chamber: to the Rightuous, as a Helper and defender: to the Reprobates, as a trembling and terror. No man fleeth from him but to him, from his rigor to his goodnesse, and so foorth. For what place shall he meete with (sayth he) where he shall not finde thy presence?’ The selvesame presence which was present at the making of all things, is present with every thing to preserve them all: and yet is it neverthelesse absent from all things and from every thing, as it was at the tyme that there were no things at all; because none of them conteyneth it or any part of it, but it conteyneth all things.

But we must passe yet one step further. God (say we) is present everywhere. Then is he infinite, and yet is he not conteyned in any place, for he is not a bodie. It followeth therefore that he is not infinite in bodie, but in Spirit; nor in quantitie, but in goodnes and power, and better if better may be sayd. Wherefore, let us not imagine him to bee a huge or massie lump, as the ignorant sorte doe. The massinesse of things is that (as wee see) which maketh them unable to doe things. Contrariwise, the more spirituall a thing is, the more active it is. He then which is the action of all powers, must néedes bee a Spirit of infinite power, and yet notwithstanding exempted from all quantitie, (which properly is but a weakenesse or want of power) yea, and yet in such sort infinite, as all the infinitenesse thereof bee comprehended within bounds as to himselfe, that is to say, so as he finish or bound himselfe, because he neither is nor hath any thing without himself. Thus have we by reason (and we may also have it by the Devilles in the forealledged Oracles, and likewise by all the Philosophers) that GOD is unmoovable,

S. Austin
upon the
Psalmes.

1. Phisic. 2.
&c.
ἐν τὸ ἀπειρον.

Infinite.

Infinite, not
by stretching
or streyning
out, but by
sheading in.

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unchaungeable, beginninglesse, endlesse, single, bodylesse, and infinite; all which are termes whereby wee declare, not what he is, but onely what he is not; not to make us to conceive him, but to kéepe us from deceyving our selves by our owne vayne conceytes. And of all these Negatives we conceive but one affirmative, as we did at the first; namely, that God is his owne being, as he himself saith unto *Moyse*; insomuch that he is of himselfe, and all things are of him, and he cannot be aught els than he is; insomuch also that it is all one with him to be great and mightie, as méerely and simply to bée; which is as much to say as that we must (as much as wee can) conceive him to be good without qualitie, great without quantitie, everlasting without tyme, everywhere present without place, and so foorth. And to conclude this Chapter, whereas wee cannot comprehend God in his very being, wee will indever to come néere to the knowledge of him thrée waies by considering his effects; howbeit in such sort as that we must thinke infinitely of him, above and beyond the things which seeme greatest unto us in the perfections which we perceyve to be in all things; as, goodnesse, trueth, wisdom, Justice, life, unitie, and such like; and yet conceyving him (if we can) to be but one only perfection comprehēding all perfections in one, and yet every of them infinitely above the highest degré of perfection that we can imagine. And finally as in respect of the imperfections which are in all things, (as chaungeablenesse, weakenesse, materialnesse, and such like,) by conceyving them to be more infinitely farre of from his nature, than wee can set them of in our understanding. But when wee have or shall have taken never so much paynes in that behalfe, yet the uttermost that wee shall have learned, is but only not to be ignorant of our owne want of knowledge. And therefore, to the intent we lose not our selves in seeking him, the surest way for us is to possesse him by loving serving and woorshipping him; the which thing hee of his love towards us graunt us to doe. *Amen.*

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The fifth Chapter.

That in the onely one Essence or Substance of God there are three persons which we call the Trinitie.

LET us presume yet a little further, not by rash inquisitiveness of man, but by the mercifull guyding of God, who hath voutsafed to utter himselfe unto us in his Scriptures: and let us see whether reason will helpe us to mainteyne and proove the things which she of her selfe could never have found out. For, reason is after a sort in like case towards God, as our eye is towards the Sunne. Neither the Sunne nor any thing under the Sunne, can well bee seene without the Sunne: likewise neither God nor any thing belonging to God can bee seene without God, how good eyesight or mynd-sight so ever wee have. But when the Sunne shineth, then our eye seeth the things which it sawe not afore, & judgeth of them at his ease, notwithstanding that the eye bee but the same it was afore, and have but the same power of sight which it had afore, without receyving any newe increase thereof. Likewise, when GOD voutsafeth to utter any doctrine unto us, the selfsame reason which otherwise could never have perceyved it, doth then see it, and discourse it, and allowe of it, without receyving any newe power abilitie or chaunge in it selfe. We have concluded by reason, that God is a most single essence: And we beleve by discovery from heaven, that in the same most single essence are three persons or Inbeings. Reason of it selfe could never have attayned to the finding thereof: for we cannot distinguish things unlesse we conceive them; and yet neverthesse, reason will serve us to prove it.

The begetting
of the Sonne,
or of the second
Person.

First of all, we have already acknowledged by Gods effects or doings, that there is in him a working nature or power, (I must be faine to speake in the speech of man seeing that the divine speech is unknowne to us) which is the beginner and mover of al things. And in every of his workes, wee see a singular cunning; and in the knitting of all, both great and small together, wee see a wonderfull order, as I have discoursed heretofore; and wee see there is neither order nor

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cunning where there is no understanding. It followeth therefore that the soveraine understanding is in God from whom this great order and cunning procéde. Againe, albeit that of the things which are in this world, some understand, and some understand not; yet notwithstanding, all of them are appoynted to some certeyne end and marke, as the Sunne to make the day & to heate; the Moone to lighten the night, and all the Planets and Starres to marke out the Seasons; and so forth of all other things. None of them stumbleth in his way, none steppeth aside from his ende: and yet notwithstanding, the most part of them could not prescribe it to themselves. For the beginner of all ends is understanding, and in the most of these there is no understanding. Néedes must it bee therefore, that God the maker of them did also appoynt them their ends, and consequently that he had understanding for them. Now, the innumerable multitude of things, and the linking of their ends one to another as they now be, do shewe that al of them have their beginning from one selfsame understanding. Then must it néedes be, that this common author of their being, that is to say, the soveraine being, must also be the soveraine understanding, séeing he imparteth the effects of understanding to so many things which have it not. Moreover, the things which have understanding are the disposers and orderers of the other things, and not contrarywise. Man buyldeth, planteth, reareth up Cattell, and maketh his commoditie of all of them together. Of men themselves, the skilfullest make Lawes, and take upon them to rule others. To be short, the things which have no understanding doe naturally serve as instruments to those which have it; and the thing which hath the lesse of it, serveth that which hath the more of it; and no part in nature dealeth to the contrary. And (as wée have proved by all the Philosophers themselves) it is God that created all things that have understanding, as well those which are not tyed to bodies, as those which have bodies; allotting to them their offices and ends, and so consequently he is the very beginner and end of them himself.

Then once againe, so farre forth as we can describe this understanding by the outward effects thereof, it must néedes be in God a most excellent abilitie (if it may bee so named)

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by direction whereof he executeth most wisely the active or inworking vertue power and nature which we marke in all things in this world, howbeit, so as the chiefe working of them doth abide and rest still in him. I have proved heretofore that God is infinite: which being so; nothing can be imagined in him, which is not infinite likewise: for otherwise he should bee as well finite as infinite both together. And infinite he were not, if he could understand or knowe that to day which he understood not afore. Néedes then must it be, that he from al eternitie understandeth and knoweth the things which have bin, which are, and which shall be; the whole, and the parts; the generalles, the specialles, and the particulars; the originalles, the procéedings, and the aftercommings; the doings, sayings, and thoughts of men; and so foorth, so as this understanding in God is everlastingly infinite.

Againe, understanding is an inworking which abideth and remayneth in the partie which hath it, and passeth not into any outward thing. For, when we understand the course of the Sunne, we become the more skilful therof in our selves; but as for the Sunne, he is nothing altered thereby. Also I have told you alreadie, that God is most single, and that there is not any thing in him which is not his very essence or being. Wherupon it followeth, that God not onely hath understanding, but also that his understanding is his very essence [that is to say, he is the very understanding it self.] Now then, let us see what it is that this understanding begetteth. I have told you that God is a mere doing, and that whatsoever he doth, he doth it from everlasting; and that on the other side being most single, there is nothing in him which is not a doer. Whereupon it followeth that this understanding is everlastingly occupied in doing. And wherein then is it occupied? What is the thing that it worketh uppon? Surely it can méete with nothing but it selfe. God then conceyved and understood himselfe; and it must néedes be that he understood himselfe, seeing that the chieftest wisdome is to knowe ones selfe, whereof he could not fayle. Therefore it was of necessitie, that this understanding of God, should yéeld a reflexion backe againe to it self, as a face doth in a Lookingglasse, and as our mynd doth when it setteth it self to the considering of it owne proper

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nature; and that it should conceyve and beget in it selfe a perfect image of it owne selfe, which image is the same thing which in the Trinitie we call the Sonne, the Word, or the Spéech; namely, the lively and perfect image and wisdom of the Father. Now, this understanding is actually everlasting, [that is to say, everlasting in déede] and everlastingly actual, [that is to say, everlastingly doing,] and therefore wee say that the second person which it begetteth is also everlasting: and God in his understanding had not conceived any thing that is lesse than himself; for it is equal with him. And whereas wee comprehend not our selves; that commeth of the darknesse and lumpishnesse of our flesh, which maketh us unlike our selves. We say then that the Sonne is equall to the Father, and the image of the Father. But yet morcover, the being of the Father and his understanding are both one: & his being or essence (being understood of it selfe) is none other thing than the being of the Sonne, who is bred and begotten by the Fathers understanding or mynding of himself. Whereupon we conclude againe, that the essence of the Father is the essence of the Sonne, [that is to say, that looke whatsoever the Father is, the Sonne is the same;] so as they differ not but by way of relation: and consequently that they be Coeternall, Coequall, and Coessentiall, [that is to say, of one selfesame everlasting continuance, of one selfesame state condition and degree, and of one selfesame substance or being;] which is the thing that we be taught in the Church. This second person for divers respects is betokened by divers names. He is ordinarily called the Sonne, because he is a Conception of the understanding which is in God, and a perfect resemblance of him. And here wee have to consider, that according to the diversities of natures; the maner of bréedings or begettings doe varie also. For every life (if I may so speake) begetteth or bréedeth a Sonne, issue or ofspring in it selfe afore it send it out; and the excellenter that the life is, the more inward to it is that which procéedeth or is bred thereof. Hereupon some have supposed the Fire to be a living wight, because it bréedeth or begetteth another fire like it selfe. But howsoever the case stand, like as the Elements are naturally the bacest things in degré, so hath Fire the bacest maner of bréeding or begetting; as which is

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not able to doe it but out of it self, and by the applying of some outward matter to him. The Plant conceyveth moysture in it selfe, which springeth foorth into bud, from bud into flower, and from flower into fruite; which fruite being ripe falleth to y^e ground, and there bringeth foorth another Plant. Now, this second Plant lived in the first Plant ere it lived in it selfe; and all living wights doe live, move and feele in their Dammes bellies, afore they come foorth; which is yet a more inward maner of bréeding and begetting than the other. The sensitive life conceyveth an imagination which hoordeth up it selfe in the memorie: but as it procéedeth from the Sences and sensible things; so doth it depart out of it self. The reasonable life hath his conceptions and bréedings yet more inward than all the rest. For it hath his reflexion backe to it selfe; and wée commonly terme the doings or actions thereof by the name of Conceptions or Conceyts, after which maner the learned sort doe call their bookes their Children. But yet there is this more in this matter; namely, that in men this conceyving procéedeth of imagination, which is an outward thing unto it, because nothing can enter into the understanding of man but by the Sences; and moreover, for that the thing which is mynded or understood, and y^e mynd or understanding it selfe, are not both one in us. But forasmuch as onely God is altogether life, and his life is altogether understanding, which is the highest degré of life; he hath his maner of conceyving and begetting most inward of all. For, he conceyveth in himself and of himself, and his conceyving is a begetting, and this begetting abideth still in himselfe, because his understanding can never any where méete with any thing but that which he himselfe is. And that is the second person whom wee call the Sonne, and unto whom that name doth so much the more properly agré, because his resembling of him is more perfect, and his begetting or Sonneship (if I may so terme it) is more inward, than all the bréedings and begettings which we commonly see, or than any other that we can imagine. Also we cal him *Logos*, which some translate *Word* or *Speech*, and othersome *Reason*. Eyther of those significations is ordinary to the word *Logos*, and agréable to that which is intended to be signified thereby, so farre foorth

Why the second Person is called the Son, the Worde, Speech, Wisdom, &c

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as divine things can be expressed by the spéech of man. When we call him Spéech or Word, it is according to the doctrine of the Philosophers, who have marked that there is in man a dubble Spéech; the one in the mynd, which they call the inward Spéech, which wee conceyve afore we utter it; and the other the sounding image thereof, which is uttered by our mouth and is termed the Spéech of the Voyce; eyther of both the which we perceyve at every word that wee intend to pronounce: which thing those folke might yet much better observe, which had never learned any Language, because they should not cease to have those inward Conceyts in themselves [though they could not speake] For the witte or understanding doth by and by conceyve an inwarde Spéech uppon the thing which is offered unto it, and begetteth or bréedeth that conceyt in our mynde as it were by a suddein flash of Lightning, and afterward our mynd uttereth it more at leysure by the voyce, the which voyce (notwithstanding) is unable to represent or expresse ye inward Spéech perfectly: insomuch that wee see many men have a great number of goodly conceyts in their mynds, which they be not able to expresse; and that in expressing them eyther by worde or by writing, they mislike their owne doings, because they bee farre inferiour to the things which they had conceyved in their mynds. Now, the spéech of the mynd is very Reason it self: and looke what the spéech of the mynd reasoneth and debateth, that doth the voyce utter, and eyther of them is the image of the next that went afore. For looke what proportion is betwéene the voyce or Spéech of the mouth, and the Spéech of the mynd; the like proportion is betwéene the Spéech of the mynd, and the Spéech of the understāding. The voyce hath néede of ayre, and is divided into parts, and requireth leysure: The Mynd in déede is undividable, but yet hath it néed of tyme to passe frō one cōclusion or reason to another. But as for ye understāding, it accomplisheth his action or working in lesse than a moment, and with one onely act doth so fill the Reason and mynd, that it is constreyned to make many acts of one. And this diversitie may every man marke in himself, notwithstanding that all these acts seeme to be done together like Thunder and Lightning. Now then, the said Conception or Conceyt which Gods

Looke in the
12. Chapter
of Mercurius
Trimegistus
Pœmander.

Rapida quādam Coruscatione perfundit animum.
that is to say,
it sheadeth
through the
mynd with a
certeyne swift
glistering.

Vox profert, Animus ratiocinatur, Mentis verbum ipsa Ratio est.
that is to say,
the voyce
uttereth, the
mynd reasoneth or debateth, and so
Reason is the
very word or
speech of the
Mynd.

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understanding hath conceived everlastingly in himselfe, wee call Speech or Word; which is the perfect image of his understanding, and Gods understanding, is God himself. Also wee call it Reason, because Reason is as ye would say the Daughter, Spéech or worde of the understanding, and we say that by the same Spéech or word, God made al things. For, as the Craftsman maketh his worke by the patterne which he had erst conceived in his mynde, which patterne is his inward word: so God made the World and all that is therein, by that sayd Spéech of his as by his inward skill or arte. For he being but one, conceyveth all things by conceyving himselfe. To be short, we call him also the Wisedome of the Father, yea, and even mecrely and simply wisdom. For, Wisedome (even in man) is nothing els but a haviour procéeding of divers Conceyts or inward spéeches, whereby our mynde is perfected in the knowledge of high things. Now, God is the heyghth of all heyghthes, and by the conceyving of himselfe he knoweth himself. But yet we must take this withall, that the thing which is a haviour in us, is essence in him, [that is to say, that he is the very things themselves which wee obteyne to have by meanes,] and that he himselfe is the ground of his owne wisdom, whereas the true wisdom of men, hath not any other ground than God. Now then, can there bee any greater wisdom in God, than to knowe himselfe? And is not that knowledge bred of understanding?

The proceeding of the holy Ghost, or third person.

Let us come to the third person. We have acknowledged heretofore, that in the most single essence of God, there is a workfull power, abilitie, or nature, matched with an understanding, according whereunto the sayde vertue or power executeth his actions. Now, in the selvesame essence, should there not also be a Will besides the sayd understanding? If wee consider all the things in the world, we shall finde in them a kynd of Will, tending to the severall welfare of every of them: & the more understanding they have, the more wil also have they; because that the more their welfare is knowne unto them, the more also is it desired; & the more it is desired, the more also is their will uniforme, and the lesse parted. I omit the sencelesse things, as Plants, Herbes, and Stones, which have certeine naturall inclinations, sufficiently

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marked by the searching out of their natures. But yet it cannot bee denied, but that the Beastes have a sensitive appetite to followe the thing which their Sence taketh hold of to be good for them. Men also doe runne with all their harts after the thing which they suppose to bee good for them, whether it bee honor, riches or pleasure. And the more they knowe it or thinke themselves to knowe it, the more doe they yéeld their will unto it: and the more they hold and possesse therof, the more is their hart settled thereupon. Only their understanding being bewitched by vanitie, is deceytfully driven to choose the evill for the good; by meanes wherof, the will which ought to be discréeete and full of wit and understanding, is forced of necessitie to degenerate into fleshly and beastly lust. The Angelles likewise (as say the Philosophers) have also a will, and much more simply one & more lively than ours. And as by their understanding they know the very good it self, that is to wit God; so have they their will ever settled on him alone, without turning it aside to any of all the great multitude of objects wheron we be wont to set our mynds. Now, shall not he himself have a will, who hath given will to al living things and imprinted it in them? And he that hath imparted so many benefites to all things, to some mo and to some lesse; hath not he (say I) bestowed those benefites uppon them willingly? And he with the beholding of whom y^e blesseddest Spirits do féede their willes, hath not he the pleasure of contenting himself throughly with him selfe, seeing he knoweth himselfe perfectly? And what els is this pleasure, than will fulfilled, yea even filled to the full with the true Good which sufficeth to himselfe, which is the onely peculiar thing whereon the very will resteth in déede? Againe, the nature of will is to applye all abilities to their actions. To no purpose have wee hearing, if wee list not to heare; to no purpose have we sight, if wee list not to see; to no purpose have wee abilitie to doe things, if wee list not to doe them. And this appeareth dayly in all our doings, which never come to effect, till they be quickened and put forth by the will. But we see that God hath applyed his power to the doing of many things, yea of things infinite and infinitely divers. Therefore it followeth that he listed to doe them, and that he listed to make one thing to one ende

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and another to another, and one of them for another, and finally all for himselfe, and so consequently that he hath a will. And this will (so farre as we be able to discerne it by the effects) is a certeyn abilitie wherby he applyeth his workfull power, when, where, and how he thinketh good; guyding and performing it according to his owne mynd, howbeit that the chiefe act thereof is performed within it selfe. Nevertheless, this is spoken alwaies after the maner of men. For if we have much a doe to discerne the difference betwene the abilities of Will and Understanding in our owne Soules, by reason of the linking of them together: much more reason is it that in this essence of God which is most single, and infinitely more one than ours, we should déeme all these things to be but one in him, notwithstanding that they differ in certeyne respects. God understandeth, but I have told you, that to be and to understand is all one in him. Also God willeth or listeth; but too will and too understand are likewise both one in him: and so all three come into one essence [that is, bee all one thing.] The reason hereof is very evident: namely, that willing or listing is no more an action that passeth into the outward thing, than Understanding is; but abideth still in the Willer. For by our listing of a thing, we may perceive some alteration in our selves; but ye thing it self that is listed or willed feeleth nothing thereof. Now, I have proved heretofore, that whatsoever is or resteth in God, is his very being; and moreover, God willeth not any thing but as in respect that he understandeth it; for the knowne good is the ground of his will, and he understandeth not but by his essence, [that is to say, for that he is the very understanding it selfe.] It followeth then, that in God, his Will is his very essence as well as his understanding; insomuch that he is both Power, Understanding, and Will all in one.

But let us see now what procéedeth of GOD by his Will. I have sayd afore, that God is mere Action, and moreover, that he is most single: therfore he is still doing from all eternitie, and so likewise is whatsoever els we consider in his essence. Now, there we have found an Understanding, by the Inworking whereof he knoweth himself; and also a Will, whereby he cannot but will himself, seeing he knoweth him-

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selfe. And this Understanding, by a certeine Reflexion of it selfe upon it selfe, hath begotten us a second person, whom we call the Sonne and the Wisedome of the father. This will then which worketh everlastingly, having likewise none other thing to worke uppon but it selfe, doth also by his working strike backe upon himselfe, and delight it selfe in the infinite good which it knoweth there, and so sheadeth out it selfe wholly to the loving thereof; and by this action it bringeth us forth a third person (if I may so terme it) whom we call Gods Spirit and the holy Ghost, that is to wit, the mutuall kindnesse and lovingnesse of the Father and of the Sonne; of the Father the understander, towards the Sonne conceived and begotten by his understanding: and of the Sonne backe againe towards the Father, acknowledging all that he hath and all that he is to be of the Father. And this sayd Will is the essence of God himselfe, and consequently eternally active, and actively eternall. For, in the everlasting all things are everlasting; and in a mere act, all things are act; and of such can nothing procéde which shall not be like them. Néedes therefore must this Spirit, this Lovingnesse, or this goodwill, bee also actually everlasting. Moreover, the will extendeth as farre as the understanding: for (as I have sayd afore) will and understanding are both one in God; and understanding doth perfectly comprehend the thing that is understood, namely the thing that is beloved, that is to wit God himselfe. The will then doth by his action (which is love & liking) extend it selfe as farre as God himselfe; and so the third Person is equall to the second and the first. And yet doth this third Person procéde of the will, and the will is Gods essence, & of that essence can nothing procéde which is not his essence. Therefore he is not onely coeternall and coequall, but also co-essentiall. Again, we see that in us, there goeth alwaies some act of the understanding afore the act of our will; for y^e cause why we will things, is that we think wee understand them; and wee desire them for the good which wee perceyve in them; & the love of a thing cannot be in the lover thereof, but uppon his knowing of the thing loved; neither is will any thing els than appetite, bred of understanding. The third Person therefore procéedeth from the

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first, not only by the will, but also by the understanding, and by the knowledge which the understanding bréedeth. And because it procéedeth of two, and not by way of resemblance, but by act of Will; we terme him *Proceeding* and not *Begotten*; which is in effect the reason of all that is taught us in the Church concerning that matter. Notwithstanding, whereas wee say that the action of Understanding goeth afore the action of Will; our meaning is not to imagine any going afore or comming after in these persons; but onely to lay foorth this procéeding by the order of Nature, which wee could not have done so well by the trueth of the matter: as if wee should say, that the Sonne is considered afore the holy Ghost, in like maner as ye knowing of a thing goeth afore the desire of it, because that if they could have had any beginning, the Sonne had bin foremost in that case.

Why the holy
Ghost is called
Love. &c.

πνεύματα.

As touching names, we call him most cōmonly the holy Ghost. Holy, because there is nothing in God which is not pure and holy; whereby he is discerned from al other Spirits: and Ghost or Spirit, because we commonly call those things Spirits, the beginning of whose moving is unknowne to us; as the Wyndes, whose beginning is unknowne unto us: the breathing of the Heartstrings, which procéedeth from an inward beginning that is hidden from us; and such other things: and to be short, because that in all things which have life, the inwarde force procéedeth from some kynde of will by a certeyne Spirit. Now, as for loue, it is nothing els but a certeyne covert forwardnesse or foorthgoing of the will towards the thing that is loved; insomuch that the very benefite which we receyve by his love, is a secrete and insensible throughbreathing, which worketh in us, & yet we cannot well perceyve from whence it commeth. Againe, wee call him also Love and Charitie, because all the actions of will are in love and wellyking as in their roote, in like maner as all the doings of Gods Understanding, méete altogether in his wisdom. For, whereas wee desire the thing which we want, or be glad of the thing which wee have; the cause thereof is that we love it or like well of it. Likewise also, whereas we feare a thing, or lothe it; that commeth of a hatred, which can have no place in God, whose will

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nothing is able to withstand. Therefore as we have God of God (that is to wit, the Sonne of the Father) by the everlasting inworking of his Understanding; so also have wee God of God againe (that is to wit, the holy Ghost or love of them both) by the joyntworking of the Understanding and Will together. Whereupon we conclude thrée distinct persons or Inbeings in one essence; not to exclude the singlenesse thereof which it behoveth us to hold still; but to expresse the diversitie thereof after a sort, which ought not to bee unknowne; namely the power of the Father, the wisdom of the Sonne, & the goodnesse of their love; for whom, by whom, and in whom, it hath pleased the sayd onely one unspeakable essence to create and to love all things.

Of whom, by whom, and in whom.

But there is yet more, namely, that as there are thrée Inbeings or Persons in this essence; so also there can bee no mo but thrée: which thing may be made evident by the same reason. Whoso denyeth that there is Understanding and Will in God as wee have seene afore, must also denye that he hath made any thing, or that he doth any thing: for all the things which wee see here belowe, are marked both with the one and with the other. Likewise, he that confesseth that all things are in him, (according to their preaching unto us) must néedes also confesse the Sonne and the holy Ghost, to bee the wisdom and the love; for they bee but actions of those two, which cannot be without their action; neither can action bee everlastingly any where els than in God himself. Now, as we can not imagine God without his actions; so can wee not consider any other than those to abyde in him, nor consequently any other Underbeings that procéede from thence; whereupon we say also, that a fourth person cannot be admitted. As for example, we say he is the Creator, and we say true; and in so saying wee finde also a relation to the Creatures. But this power of Creating procéedeth from the power which is in the Father, and is not an action that abideth still within him, but passeth directly into the thing created, which in respect of the Creator, is as nothing in comparison of infinitenesse, whereof it cannot have the preheminance. Also we say he is a Saviour: and that is all one with the other. For his being a Saviour, is by his Sonne, as we shall see hereafter; and moreover, it is an

Three Persons and no mo.

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action that passeth into the thing saved, and abydeth not in God alone. Therefore it maketh not to the stablishing of a fourth person or inbeing; for then it ought to be Coessentiall. To be short, all Gods operations doe eyther procéde from within him, and abyde still in the worker and in their first ground; or els they procéde from without, and passe into the outward effect. That worke or action which procéedeth from within, can bee of none other essence than the thing from whence it commeth: for in GOD there is nothing but essence, and in that essence can nothing abyde but the essence it selfe. That which procéedeth from without, is alwaies of a sundrie essence, as are the Creatures and workes of God, which come nothing nere the essence of the Creator. The thing which doth the worke without, is Gods power, howbeit accompanied with his understanding and will. And the thing that doth the work within, is his understanding and will and nothing els, as wee may discern in our selves, who are but a very slender image thereof. And like as in beholding a paynted Table, or in reading the verses of a Poet, we imagine not therefore that there was a peculiar and immediate abilitie of paynting or versifying in the mynd or sovereyne part of their Soule; but we referre those skilles and al other like, unto Wit and Will: even so and much more according to reason, of all the workes and doings which we see done by Gods power, we cannot gather any other persons or inbeings in him, than those which procéde immediatly of his Understanding and Will; and alonly those and none other can be Coessentiall in him. Now, Understanding and Will in GOD, are essence; and his essence is merely one and most single. And moreover, the Word or Spéech conceyveth not another Spéech, but turneth wholly unto the Father; neither doth the Spirit conceive another love than the love of those two; but resteth and reposeth it self altogether in them. So then, there can but one onely word or spéech procéde by the understanding, nor but only one Love procéde by the Will; neither can any other procéde of that Word and that Love. And so there remayne unto us the onely thrée persons of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost; by the which two, the Father governeth and loveth all things, because he himself alone is all things.

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Now, as we have read in nature that there is but one God, as a thing which we finde written even in the least creatures: so may we now perceyve the evident footsteps of the thrée inbeings or persons in one essence, as a marke of the worker that made them, in some more and in some lesse, according to their dignitie; which yet notwithstanding are such, as we could not well perceive them, untill the doctrine thereof was revealed unto us, no more than we can understand the letters of Cyphering, which wee can neither reade nor decypher, unlesse we have some knowledge of y^e matter which they import, from other folkes hands, or by conjecture, or by some other way. Wee finde an Unitie in all things, yea even in those which have but only being. For all things are inasmuch as they be one: and whensoever they cease to bee that one, they consequently cease also to be. Againe, we see in them a forme or shape, and that is the marke of that witfull action (that is to say, of the everlasting Word or Conceyt whereby God made them) which hath bred us the essentiall forme or shape, and all other maner of formes and shapes. Also we see an inclination or disposition, in some more apparant than in othersome; in some to mount aloft, as in fire; in some to sincke downe towards the Center, as in a Stone; and in all, to hold themselves united in their matter & forme. This is the marke of the workfull Will, wherein God hath voutsafed to stoope unto them; and of the union which procéedeth therof, wherein he loveth, upholdeth, & preserveth all things. But even in some of the things of this bacest sort, there appeareth not onely a trace, but almost an image thereof. For, the Sunne breedeth or begetteth his owne beames, which the Poets doe call the very sonne of the Sunne: and from them two proceedeth the light, which imparteth it selfe to all things here beneath; and yet is not the one of them afore the other; for neither is the Sunne afore his beames, nor the Sunne or his beames afore the light, otherwise than in consideration of order and relation, that is to wit, as in respect that the beames are begotten and the light is proceeding; which is an apparant image of the Coeternitie. Likewise in Waters, we have the head of them in the earth, & the Spring boyling out of it, & the streame which is made of them both and sheadeth it self out farre of from thence. It is but one

Traces of the
Trinitie in
the World
and in Man.

The welhead,
the Spring, &
the streame.

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selfesame continuall and unseparable essence, which hath neither forenesse nor afternesse, save only in order and not in tyme, that is to say, according to our considering of it, having respect to causes, and not according to trueth. For, the Welhead is not a head, but in respect of the Spring; nor the Spring a Spring, but in respect of the Welhead; nor the Streame a Streame, but in respect of them both; and so all three be but one Water, and cannot almost be considered one without another, howbeit that the one is not the other. It is an expresse mark of the originall relations and persons Co-essentiall in the only one essence of God. The like is to bee sayd of Fire, which ingendreth fire, and hath in it both heate and brightnesse unseparable. Also there are other examples to bee found of such as list to seeke them out. In Hearbes and Plants there is a roote, which yeeldeth a slippe, stocke or ympe, and the same ympe groweth afterward into a Tree. It cannot well be named or deemed to be a roote, but that therewith it hath also ingendred an ympe or stocke; for in that respect is it called a roote, and so is the one as soone as the other. Also there is a sappe which passeth from the one to the other, joyning, knitting, and uniting them together by one common life, without the which life, neither the roote should bee a roote, nor the slip a slip, and so in effect they bee altogether, the one as soone as the other. Moreover, among all living wights, every of them ingendreth after his owne kind and forme; of whom one is an ingendrer and another is ingendred; among men, a father and a sonne; and by and by through knowledge, there procéedeth a naturall love and affection from the one to the other, which knitteth and linketh them together. All these are traces, footsteps, and images, (howbeit with the grossest) of that high misterie; and also I have told you afore, that no effect doth fully resemble his cause, and much lesse that cause which in all respects is most infinite.

Notwithstanding, in mans Soule, (when I say Soule, I meane there the highest power thereof) the image and likenesse of the Trinitie is yet much more lyvely and more expresse. For first there is in it a Nature & abilitie of working, and as it were a mere act, whereby it liveth and giveth lyfe, and is it selfe in continuall working. The *Latins* call it *Mens*

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[that is to say Mynd] & we call it also the reasonable Soule, the which wee may liken to the Father. This Mynd bréedeth an understanding or Wit, by the which we understand and discern, not onely other things, but also our selves; and againe by understanding we come to will, through the which we love other things, and most of them for our owne sakes. These thrée powers are very distinct in us: for wee worke not alwayes by Wit, not alwayes by Will, and yet our mynd worketh continually. Moreover, oftentimes wee will the thing which wee understand not, and wee understand the thing which wee will not. And therefore to will and to understand are not both one. Neverthelesse this Working, Understanding and Willing, are not thrée lyves or thrée Soules in us, but one lyfe and Soule, and that so streitly united in one essence, that even in the selfsame instant that our mind doth a thing, it also understandeth the reason why it willeth it or willeth it not, in which worke both our inworking power and also our wit and our will doe concurre all together. Yet notwithstanding, this image is farre from the thing it selfe. For these thrée powers are severall in the essence of our Soule; and howe néerly so ever they be united together, yet is not the one the other; But in God who is most singly one, Being is Understanding, and understanding is will, as I have said afore. And againe, by Gods understanding and by his will there procéede from hym two Inbeings, by reason whereof hee myndeth and loveth himselfe, and in himselfe all things. As for our Soule there can no such thing procéede from it by the wit or the will, because although they be both in it, yet they take their grounds from without themselves, insomuch that it can neither understand nor love, unlesse the abilities thereof be set aworking by some outward thing. And which more is, the more it understandeth it selfe, the more doth it streine it selfe to understand and knowe another than it selfe: and the more it loveth it selfe through true knowledge of it selfe, the more dooth it sécke contentment by loving another, which other it cannot love but by hating it selfe; that is to wit, it streyneth it selfe too behold and love God, and to knowe and love it selfe but only for his sake, to whome alonly it belongeth to understand all things in himselfe, and to love all things of himselfe. But

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now it is high time hencefoorth to see what antiquitie will say to us concerning this matter, the which it wilbe better for us to reserve to the next Chapter following. And as touching the questions that may bee made by the curious sort upon this poynt, we answer them at one word; Let them tell us how they themselves are bred and begotten, and then let them aske us of the begetting of the Sonne of God: Let them tell us the nature of the spirit that beateth in their Pulses; and thē let them bee inquisitive at our hands for the proceeding of the holy Ghost. And if they must be fayne to keepe silence in so comon matters, which they dayly see and feele in themselves; let them give us leave to be ignorant in many things, which are such (as sayth *Empedocles*) as no eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor wit of man can conceyve.

The vi. Chapter.

That the Philosophie of old tyme consenteth to
this doctrine of the Trinitie.

Plato in his
Philebus.

Plato. lib. 3.
of his Com-
monweale:
and lib. 10.
& 12. of
Lawes.

Aristo. lib. 1.
of Heaven. &
lib. 12. of his
Metaphisiks.
Plotin often.
&c.

The Chaldies
heard speake

SUREly (as I have sayd afore) this doctrine is not bred of mans braine, though it be paynted there after some sort; but was verely inspyred into our forefathers from above, who (as saith *Plato*) were better than we, and nerer also unto God. And in good sooth we see an infallible argument thereof, in that the elder the world groweth, the more do mens doctrines grow to perfection & knowledge. But contrarywise, the further that this hath gone from the former ages, the more hath it bin found darkened, & hath nowhere bin so lightsome as at the welspring thereof; untill that by the birth of the true daysonne in deede, it receyved greater light than ever it had afore. And therefore when *Plato*, yea and *Aristotle* himselve speake of the Godhead, of the Creation of the World, and of other like Misteries; they be fayne to alledge the auncient report, and the record of antiquitie descended from hand to hand, as ye surest staffe to stand by in matters that excēde the capacite of man. Which thing they expresse ordinarily by these speeches, 'According to the old Sawe, as the auncientest reports goe, As our forefathers

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and Elders say,' and such like. Among these men of the auncientest sort, the first that wee méete with is *Zoroastres*, whom *Plutarke* reporteth to have lived certeyne thousands of yeres afore y^e warres of *Troy*. Neverthelesse, by report of the best Authors, he descended of *Cham*, and was vanquished by *Nynus* King of the *Assyrians*. Of him came the *Magies*, that is to say the Wisemen of *Chaldey*, and from them sprung up the like in *Persia*, who had in their custodie the Registers of the Kings of those daies, & wrate their déeds, and had the ordering of matters pertaining to Religion. And now marke what we find in their sayings gathered by men of old time, which are commonly called *Logia*, that is to say Oracles. 'The father (sayth *Zoroastres*) did perfect all things, and gave them to a second Mynd whom all mankind taketh for the first.' And *Pletho Gemistus* a *Platonist* sayth, that by this 'second Mynd,' he meaneth a second God which succédeth the Father, and hath his begetting of the Father; and that men have taken him for the first, because God created the World by him, howbeit that the Father created the myndly shapcs, and gave the government of them to this second Mynd. Ye see then here is a second person begotten of the Father. *Proclus* rehearseth the same, saying; 'This Mynd having alone taken the flower of Underståing from the power of the Father, possesseth the understanding and power to deale foorth his Fathers understanding or mynd to all Originalles and all Beginnings of things.' Then hath he his being and his understanding from the Father, and all other things have them from him. But the things which are found in his Commentarie upon the *Parmenides* of *Plato* are wonderfull.

For the better yéelding of the sence whereof, I will translate it into Prose, notwithstanding y^t it be written in verse in the Gréeke. 'The Mynd of the Father (sayth he) being settled by determinate purpose, did shed foorth shapcs of all sorts; which issued all from one selvesame fountayne, because the devise and end were both of the Father. But yet were they divided by a Fyre of understanding, and (as it were by destinie) distributed into other understandings. For afore the making of this sundry-shaped world, God had conceived an incorruptible patterne thereof, as a world subject only to mynd and

of the Trinitie.

Zoroastres.
Plutarke in his treatise of *Isis* and *Osyris*.
Plinie and *Aristotle* beare witnessethat he wrote many bookes.

πάντα ἐξετέ-
λεσε πατήρ,
καὶ νῦν παρέ-
δωκε δευτέρῳ.
Pletho
Gemistus.

ἐκ πατρὸς
ἀλκῆς δρεψάμ-
ενος νόου
ἄνθος.

Proclus lib. 2.
& 3. upon
Platoes *Parmenides*.

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understanding: In the mould whereof this present World being stamped, became full of al those shapes, of the which there is but one only gracious Fountaine.'

And againe in another place he sayth as followeth.

That is to say, 'The love of God being a fyrie bond, issued first from his understanding, and clothed it selfe with fire to temper the conveyances of the watersprings, by spreading his heate upon the same.' These are their accustomed obscurities; wherein (notwithstanding) it is clerely enough uttered, that there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Love that linketh them together: and moreover, that the sayd begotten Mynd or Understanding is he by whom God framed the World, and that from him procéedeth the divine Love, as I have sayd heretofore. In another place they say that the sayd 'Fatherly Mynd' hath sowed and planted in our Soules, a certeyne resemblance of the sayd begotten understanding, and that our willes be not acceptable unto him, untill wee awake out of forgetfulnesse, and bethinke our selves againe of the ||pure fatherly marke which is in us. And againe, that the same Understanding, being of* power to beget or bréede of it selfe, did (by considering) cast a fyrie bond of Love upon all things, wherby they be continued for ever. But it is enough for us that in the sayings afore alleadged, wee have a brieve Summe of the divinitie of the *Magies*, who held thrée beginnings, whom (as wee reade in other places) they called 'Oromases, Mitris, and Ariminis,' [that is to say] 'God, Mynd, and Soule.' And surely wee should wonder at them much more, if we had their whole bookes, as we have but péesces of them remayning. Now, the *Magies* were first in *Chaldye*, and we reade in *Moysses* how highly *Balaam* was estéemed, in that he was thought able to blesse Nations and Armies. And these *Chaldies* are the same of whom the Oracle of *Apollo* answered, That only they and the *Hebrewes* had wisdome parted betwixt them.

Μοῦνοι χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λαχόν ἡδ' ἄρ' ἑβραῖοι.

All wisdome certesse parted is betweene

The Chaldies and the Hebrewes as is seene

to
quitie
stand by
which thing

Mercurie.
The Egip-
tians.

Mercurius Trismegistus (as we have seene in *ordring to the Chapter*) acknowledged but only one God, who car forefathers

* ὁ πατρικὸς
νοῦς.

|| πατρικοῦ
συνθήματος
ἀγνοῦ
αὐτογένεθλος.

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bee named but by two names, to wit, *Good*, and *Father*. And because the same God is indewed with understanding, sometymes he calleth him *Νοῦν*, howbeit that most commonly he makes a difference betwene the Father and the Understanding, which he calleth *Mynd* likewise. Which thing appeareth in this saying of his, 'I am *Pæmander*, the Feeder of Men, & the understanding of the Beer which is of himself.' But behold here records as clere as can bee. 'God (sayth he) who is also *Mynd*, and *Life*, and *Light*, & *Male-female*; begate or bred *Logon* the Speech or Word, which is another *Mynd*, and the workmayster of all things; & with that Speech, another which is the fyrie God and the Spirite of the Godhead.' Lo here a *Mynd* begottē of a *Mynd*, Understanding of Understanding, and *Light* of *Light*; and besides that, moreover a Spirit. And againe, 'This Speech that proceedeth from GOD being altogether perfect, and fruitfull, and Workmistresse of all things, lighteth upon the water and maketh it fruitfull.' It is the same thing that is spoken of in *Moses*, where God sayth, 'And the waters immediatly brought foorth.' To be short, unto this holy spéech (as he termeth it) he attributeth the begetting, ingendring & spreading foorth of al things from ofspring to ofspring, as is to be scene. But here is yet more: 'I thy God (sayth God) am *Light* and *Mynd*, of more antiquitie than the nature of moysture that is issued frō the shadow. And this lightsome Speech which proceedeth from the mynd, is the Sonne of God. That which heareth and seeth in thee, is the word of the Lord; and the *Mynd* is God the Father; these differ not one from another; and as for their union, it is the union of life, &c.' And againe: 'This Speech being the workman of God the Lord of the whole World, hath chiefe power next him, and is uncreated, infinite, proceeding from him, the Commaunder of all things which he made, the perfect & naturall firstborne Sonne of the most perfect.' To be short, is calleth him y^e myndly spéech, everlasting, unchaungeable, uncorruptible, unincreasing, undecreasing, alonly like by a 2^d firstbekowne after God; and moreover his onely tributed is welbeloved Sonne, the Sonne of the most holy, this sundiⁿe cannot be named by mouth of man. And tible patte as much as to call him Coessentiall, Coeternal,

τῆς αὐθεντίας
νοῦς.

Of the selfe-
being in his
Pæmander.

cap. 2.

ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὁ θεὸς
ἀρρενόθηλος,
ὢν ῥοή καὶ φῶς
ἀπεκύησε
λόγον ἕτερον
νοῦν δημι-
ουργόν, &c.

Νοῦς πατὴρ
τοῦ λόγου.

Mercury
alledged by
Cyrillus.lib.1.
against Julian.
& in his
Pæmander

cap. 1.
ἐξ ἐκείνου προ-
κύψασα.
τοῦ παντελείου
πρόγονος καὶ
γενήσιος υἱὸς.

Merc. 1.
διεξοδικῶν
πρὸς Τατ.

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and the Creator of all things? And what more can we say thereof?

Austin in the
Prayer of Five
Heresies.
Mercurie in
his Escula-
pius. Chap.
3. & 7.

Of the third parson he speaketh more darkly. 'Al kind of things in this World (saith he) are quickened by a Spirit; One Spirit filleth all things; the World nourisheth the bodies, and the Spirit the Soules; and this Spirit as a toole or instrument, is subject to the will of God.' But here is yet somewhat more. 'All things (saith he) have neede of this Spirit; it beareth them up, it nourisheth them, it quickeneth them, according to every of their capacities: it proceedeth from a holy fountaine, and is the mainteyner of all living things and of all Spirits.' Here yee see the reason why we call him the holy Ghoste, namely, because he procéedeth from the fountayne which is the very holynesse it selfe.

Mercurie in
his holy Ser-
mon in his
Poëmander.
cap. 3.

And least we should thinke him to be a Creature, 'There was (saith he) an infinite shadowe in the Deepe, whereon was the water, and a fine understanding Spirit was in that confuzed masse through the power of God. From thence there florished a certeine holy brightnesse, which out of the Sand and the moyst nature brought forth the Elements and all things els. Also the Gods themselves which dwell in the Starres, tooke their place by the direction & appoyntment of this Spirit of God.' Thus then hee was present at the creation of things; and it is the same spirit whereof it is sayd in the Byble, That the spirit of the Lord hovered upon the outside of the deepe. But in some places he matcheth

Gen. 1.

Mercurie in
his Poëman-
der. cap. 13.
πνευματόφορε.
Νοῦς νοῦς
φωτεινός.
Cyrillus
against Tul-
gentius.

all threë persons together. 'O lyfe (sayth he) save that life which is in mee. O light and God the Spirit inlighten mee wholly. O worker which bearest thy Spirit about, let thy word governe mee. Lord, thou art the only one God.' Againe, 'there was (sayth he) a light of understanding, afore the light of understanding, and there was ever a mind of the lightfull Mind, and besides those, there was not any thing els than the union of them by one Spirit upholding all things: without which there is neither God nor Angel, nor other Substance: For hee is Lord, Father, and God of all, and in him and under him are al things.' And having said so (sayth *Suydas*) he addeth this praier. 'I adjure thee *ὁ* Heaven the wise worke of the great God; I adjure thee *ὁ* voyce which God uttered first when he founded the world; I adjure

Suidas in his
Mercurie.
Μονογενεὺς
λόγος.

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thee by the onely begotten Speech, and by the Father who conteyneth all things, &c.' There is no man but he would woonder to see in this author the very woords of S. *John*: and yet notwithstanding his bookes were translated by the *Platonists* long tyme afore the cōming of our Lord Jesus Christ. And it is no marvayle though we find sayings of his in divers places which are not written in his *Poemander*, considering that hee wrote sixe and thirtie thousand, five hundred, and five and twentie Volumes, that is to say Rolles of Paper, as *Iamblichus* reporteth. And it is said that this *Trismegistus* otherwise called *Theut*, is the same that taught the *Ægyptians* to reade, and which invented them Geometrie and Astronomie, which devided *Ægipt* into partes, which left his forewarning against overflowings written in two Pillers, (which *Proclus* reporteth to have bene standing still in his tyme;) and to be short, which had bene reputed and honored as a God among them. And it may be, that the treble outcry which the *Ægyptians* made in calling uppon the first *Beginner*, whome they tearmed the darkenesse beyond all knowledge, like too the *Ensoph* of the *Hebrewes*, and the *Night* of the *Orpheus*, was still remayning unto them, of his divinitie. Thus have you seene how *Zoroastres* and *Mercurie* have aunswered unto us, the one for the *Persians* and *Chaldeans*, and the other for the *Ægyptians*. For in matters of Wisdome, the wise ought to be belêved for the whole Nation.

Now let us come to the *Greekes*. *Orpheus* which is the auncientest of them all, as soone as he beginneth to speake of these misteries, doth first and formost shut all Heathenish folke out of the doores, and then sayth thus: 'Let thine eye be upon the word of God, and start not away from it, for that is it that made the world, and is immortall, and (according to the old saying) is perfect of it selfe, and the perfecter of all things, and it cannot be seene but with the mynd.' And afterward, 'I adjure thee ô Heaven (sayth he) the wyse woorke of the great God, I adjure thee thou voyce of the father which he spake first,' and so forth. For this (as appeareth afore) was a praier which he had learned of *Mercurie*; from whom also procéded the common misterie of the Poets, That *Pallas* was bred of *Jupiters* brayne. The same man sayth that the first Moother of things was wisdome,

Iamblichus in his 39. Chap. of *Mysteries*.

Plato in his *Phedon* and *Philebus*.
Eusebius of *Demonstration*
Iamblichus Chapt. 1.
Proclus upon *Plato*.
Damascius the *Platonist*.

The auncient *Greekes*.

Orpheus.
φθέγομαι
οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ
θόρας δὲ ἐπι-
θέσθε βέβρη-
λοι.
And agayne.
εἰς δὲ λόγον
θεῖον βλέψας,
τούτῳ προσέ-
δρευε, &c.
Clemens lib. 5
Strom. *Orph.*
καὶ μῆτις
πρώτος γενέτωρ
καὶ ἔρως
πολυτερέτης.

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Orph. in
Argonaut.

and afterward delightfull love. And in his Argonawte hee calleth this love, most auncient, most perfect in it selfe, and the bringer foorth and disposer of all things.

πρεσβυτάτον τε καὶ αὐτοτελὴ πολυμήτιν ἔρωτα,
"Ὅσσα τ' ἔφυσεν ἅπαντα διέκριθε τᾶλλο ἀπ' ἄλλου.

Pherecydes in
Proclus.

Whereupon *Pherecydes* also sayth, That God intending too make the worlde, chaunged himselfe into love. And *Iamblichus* sayth that *Pythagoras* had the Philosophie of *Orpheus* alwayes before his eyes; and therefore it is not for us to woonder, though he attributed the creation of al things to Wisdome, & (as *Proclus* reporteth) commended three Gods together in one, as *Plato* doth. Howsoever the case stand, *Aristotle* sayeth, that they fathered all their perfection upon threë. And *Parmenides* did set downe Love as a first beginner; insomuch that in disputing in *Plato*, he leaveth us there an evident marke of the threë Inbéeings or Persones as *Plotine* noteth; but we shall see it layd foorth more playnly hereafter by *Numenius* the *Pythagorist*, *Zeno* the father of the *Stoicks*, acknowledged the word to be God, and also the Spirit of *Jupiter*. And *Alcinous* reporteth that *Socrates* and *Plato* taught that God is a mynde, and that in the same there is a certaine Inshape, which Inshape as in respect of God, is the knowledge which God hath of himselfe; and in respect of the worlde, is the Patterne or Mould thereof; and in respect of it selfe, is very essence. This in fewe words conteyneth much matter, that is to wit, the one essence which God begetteth by the considering or knowing of himselfe, according to the patterne whereof he hath buylded the world. But yet *Plato* himselfe speaketh more playnly in his *Epinomis*. 'Every Starre (sayth he) keepeth his course according to the order which (ho logos)' the Word hath set, which word he calleth *Most divine*. In his booke of Commonweale hee calleth him the begotten Sonne of the Good, most lyke unto him in all things, y^e 'Good (sayth he) being as the Sunne that shineth in the skye, and the begotten Sonne beeing as the power of the Sunne whereby we see' [that is to say, as y^e light.] Also in his Epistle to *Hermias*, *Erastus*, and *Coriscus*, hee chargeth them with an othe to reade it often, and at the least, two of them together, saying: 'Call uppon God the Prince of al things,

Aristotle in
his first booke
of Heaven.
Parmenides
in his Cos-
mogonie
alledged by
Plutarke.

πρωτίστον μὲν
ἔρωτα θεῶν
μητίσαστο
πάντων.

Plotin. En-
nead. 4. lib. 1.
Chap. 8.

Zeno the
stoik
Alcinous
concerning
the Doctrine
of *Plato*.

Plato in his
Epinomis.

ὁ τῶν πάντων
θειότατος
λόγος.

Plato in his
sixt booke of
Common-
weale.

τὸν ἐκγονὸν τοῦ
ἀγαθοῦ.

Plato in his
Epistle to

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that are and shalbe, and the Lord the Father of that Prince and of that Cause; of whome if wee seeke the knowledge aright, we have as much skill as can bee given to blessed men.' Then is there a Lorde and Cause of all things, and moreover a father of the same Lorde. But unto King *Dennis* who had asked of him the nature of God, he setteth down al the thrée parsons. 'The nature of the first (saith he) is to be spoken of in Riddlewise, to the intent that if any mischaunce befall the Letter by Sea or by Land, the reading thereof may be as good as no reading at all. Thus then stands the case. All things are at commaundement of the King of the whole world, and all things are for his sake, and he is the cause of the beautie that is in them; And about the second are the secōd things, and about the third are the third, and so fourth.' Now these (as he himselfe sayth) are Riddles to *Dennis* the Tyrant unto whome he wrote, and my expounding of them of the three Inbéeings or Persones in the Godhead, is by the consent of all the *Platonists*, who have made long Commentaries uppon those woords, agréeing all in this poynt, that by these three Kings hee meaneth 'the Good, the understanding, and the Soule of the World.' And *Origene* against *Celsus* alledgeth certayne other places of *Plato* to the same purpose; the which I leave, for avoyding of tediousnes. But this doctrine which beeing revealed from above, came from hand to hand unto *Aristotle*, (who lived about thrée hundred yeres afore the comming of Christ) séemeth to have decayed in him; who intending to overthrowe al the Philosophers that went afore him, corrupted their doctrine divers wayes. And therewithall he gave him self more to the seeking and searching of Naturall things, than to the mynding of the Author of them. Yet notwithstanding, he fathereth the cause of all things uppon a certayne Understanding, which he calleth *Noun*, y^t is to say Mynde, acknowledging the same to bee infinite in God; and also uppon a Frée will whereby he disposeth all things; whereuppon in the last Chapter I concluded a second and a third persone. Insomuch that in a certayne place he sayeth playnly, that God is to be honored according to the number of thrée, and that the same is after a sort the Lawe of Nature.

Now, for asmuch as this doctrine is not bred of mans

Hermias,
Erastus, and
Coriscus.

Plato unto
Dennis the
Tyrant.
Δεύτερον περὶ
τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ
τρίτον περὶ
τὰ τρίτα.

Origen in his
6. booke a-
gainst *Celsus*.

In his first
booke of
Philosophy.
Also in his
booke of the
World.
In his first
booke of
Heaven.

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brayne; if it bee demaunded whence all the Philosophers tooke it; wee shall finde that the *Greekes* had it from out of *Ægipt*. *Orpheus* witnesseth in his *Argonawts*, that to seeke the Misteries (that is to say the Religion) of the *Ægyptians*, he went as farre as *Memphis*, visiting all the Cities upon the River *Nyle*.

Orpheus in his
Argonawts.

*Through out the land of Ægipt I have gone
To Memphis and the Cities everychone
That worship Apis or be seated by
The River Nyle whose streame doth swell so hy.*

Also *Pythagoras* visited the *Ægyptians*, *Arabians* and *Chaldeans*, yea, and went into *Jewry* also, and dwelt a long tyme at Mount *Carmel* (as *Strabo* sayth :) insomuch that the Priestes of that Countrey shewed *Strabo* still the journeyes and walkes of him there. Now, in *Ægipt* he was the Disciple of one *Sonchedie* the chiefe Prophet of the *Ægyptians*, and of one *Nazarie* an *Assyrian* (as *Alexander* reporteth in his booke of *Pythagorasis* discourses) whom some (miscounting the tyme) thought to bee *Ezechiel*. And *Hermippus* a *Pythagorist* writeth that *Pythagoras* learned many things out of the lawe of *Moyes*. Also the sayd *Ægyptian* Priest upbrayded *Solon*, that the *Greekes* were Babes, and knewe nothing of Antiquitie. And *Solon* (as sayth *Proclus*) was Disciple in *Says* a Citie of *Ægipt*, to one *Patanit*, or (as *Plutarke* sayth) to one *Sonchis*; in *Heliople*, to one *Oeclapie*; and in *Sebenitie*, to one *Etimon*. *Plato* was the Disciple of one *Sechnuphis* of *Heliople* in *Ægipt*; and *Eudoxus* the *Guidian* was the Disciple of one *Conuphis*; all which Maysterteachers issewed out of the Schoole of the great *Trismegistus* aforenamed. To be short, *Plato* confesseth in many places, that knowledge came to the *Greekes* by those whom they commonly called the barbarus people. As touching *Zoroastres* and *Trismegistus*, the one was an *Hebrewe*, and the other, an *Ægyptian*. And at the same tyme the *Hebrewes* were conversant with the *Ægyptians*, as is to be seene even in the Heathen Authors. Whereby it appeareth that the originall fountayne of this doctrine was to bee found among them; which is the thing that wee have to prove as now. I meane not to gather hether a great sort of Texts of the *Byble*, wherein mention is made as well of the second person

Cicero.
Iamblichus.
Porphyrius.
Clemens in
the first booke
of his
Stromats.
Out of
Alexander &
Hermippus.
Plato in his
Timæus.
Proclus upon
Timæus.
Plutarke in
his Treatise
of Isis and
Osyris.
Plato in his
Epinomis,
Cratylus, and
Phil.

Justine &
Manethon
alleged by
Josephus
against
Apion.

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as of the third, of which sort are these, 'Thou art my Sonne, this day have I begotten thee. The Lord (sayth Wisedome) possessed me in the beginning of his wayes; afore the depths was I conceyved. &c.' Also concerning the holy Ghost, 'The Spirit of the Lord walked upon the waters. The Spirit of Wisedome is gentle': And it is an ordinary spéech among the Prophetes to say, 'The Spirit of the Lord was upon me.' And in this next saying are two of them together, or rather all three. 'The Heavens were spread out by the word of the Lord, and all the power of them by the Spirit of his mouth.' For they be so alledged and expounded in infinite bookes, howbeit that the *Jewes* at this day do labour as much as they can, to turne them to another sence.

But let us see what their owne Doctors have left us in expresse words, (for ye most part) culled by themselves out of writtē bookes, afore that ye cōming of our Lord Jesus Christ had made y^t doctrine suspected. In their *Zohar* which is one of their Bookes of greatest authoritie, *Rabbi Simeon*, the sonne of *Johai*, citeth *Rabbi Ibba* expoūding this text of *Deuteronomie*, 'Hearken o Israel, The Everlasting our God is one God.' The *Hebrew* standeth thus, *Jehovah Echad Jehovah Eloh enu*. By y^e first *Jehovah* which is y^e peculiar name of God not to bēe communicated to any other, *Rabbi Ibba* saith 'he meaneth the Father the Prince of al,' By *Eloh enu* that is to say 'our God,' he meaneth 'the Sonne the Fountaine of all knowledge.' And by the second *Jehovah* 'he meaneth the holy Ghost proceeding from them both, who is the measurer of the voyce. And he calleth him One, because he is undividable; and this Secret (saith he) shall not be revealed afore the comming of the Messias.' The same *Rabbi Simeon* expoūding these words of *Esay*, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hostes'; sayth, 'Holy is the Father, Holy is the Sonne, & Holy also is the holy Ghost.' In so much that this Author who is so mysticall among them, doth in other places call them the 'Three Mirrours, Lights, and Sovereign fathers, which have neither beginning nor end, and are the name and substaunce to the Roote of all Rootes.' And *Rabbi Jonathas* in many Copies of his *Chaldey Paraphrase*, sayth the same. And therefore no marvell though the *Thalmudists* of olde tyme commaunded men to say that Verse twice a day,

Psal. 2.
Proverb. 8.
Gen. 1.

Esay. 53.

Esay. 61.

Psal. 33.

The Jewes
themselves do
prove the
Trinitie.

Rabbi Simeon
ben Johai in
Zohar upon
the 6. of Deut.

R. Simeon
ben Johai
expounding
the 6. of Esay.

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Psalm. 50.
and the
Midrasch
upō the same.
R. Moyses
Hadarsan
upon the 42.
of Gen.
Midrasch
Coheleth
chap. 4.

Rabbi Ishac
ben Schola
uppon the last
verses of the
111. and 112.
Psalmes.

R. Azariel in
his Commen-
tarie or
treatise of
Holinesse.

Jepher haiiet-
sirah.

and that some observe it still at this day. Upon these words of the 50. Psalme, *El elohim Jehovah dibber*, that is to say, 'The Lord of Lords the Everlasting hath spoken': The ordinary Commentarie sayth also, that by the sayd repetition the Prophet meaneth the thrée *Middoth Properties* wherby God created the world. According whereunto *Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan* sayeth, that hee created by his word; And *Rabbi Simeon* sayeth he created by the breath of his mouth. And this saying of y^e Precacher, That a thrée-fold Corde is not so soone broken, is expounded by the same glose, (I examine not whether filthy or no) that the misterie of the Trinitie in the one God is not easie to bee expressed. Nowe these thrée Properties, (which the *Hebrewes* call *Panim*, the *Greekes* *πρόσωπα*, and we & the *Latins* call Persons) are betokened by divers names among the men of old tyme, but yet they jumpe all in one, according as they understoode them, some more clearely than other some. Some name them 'the Beginning, the Wisdome, & the Feare or Love of God': and they say that this Wisdome is *Meen soph*, as the *Cabalists* tearme it, that is to saye, of the infinite and most inward understanding of God, who beholdeth hymselfe in himself, for so doe they expound it. Which is the selfesame thing that I spake of in the former Chapter, namely that God begetteth his Sonne or Wisdome by his mynding of himselfe. Other- some call him 'Spirit, Word, and Voyce': as *Rabbi Azariell* doth in these words following. 'The Spirit bringeth forth the Word and the Voyce, but not by opening the Lippes, or by speeche of the tongue, or by breathing after the maner of man; And these three be one Spirit, to wit one God, as we reade (sayeth he) in the booke of the creating of man in these termes: One Spirit rightly living, blessed bee hee and his name, who liveth for ever and ever, Spirit, Word, and Voyce, that is to say, One holy Ghost and two Spirits of that Spirit.' Now this booke of the Creation which he alledgeth, is one *Rabbi Abrahams* a very auncient *Cabalist*; Neverthelesse it is of so great authoritie amōg them, that they father it even upon the Patriarke *Abraham* himselfe. And that which he sayth agreeth wholly to that which we say; for the mynd conceyveth the inward spēech, and of the mynd and of breath proceedeth the voyce. 'These three (sayth

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Rabbi Hamay) beeing one, have such a proportionable respect one towards another, as that the one, the Uniter, and the thing United are but one poynt, to wit, the Lord of the whole world.' *Rabbi Isaac* upon the booke of the Creation maketh three numberings, (which he termeth 'the Loftie one) in the Ensoph,' that is to say, in the Infinite, that is to wit 'Garlond, Wisdom, and understanding.' And to betoken them, *Rabby Assee* sayth that the custome was to marke them in all ages after this maner with three Jods *Jehovah*: which is as much to say as 'the Beeër, or He that is.' To be short, what diversitie soever there is in y^e names, they al agree in the thrée Inbéeings or Persons. And it is no marvell though they could not so well expresse them as we can now. *Rabbi Joseph* the *Castilian*, having learned it out of the auncientest writers, sayeth thus: 'The light of the Soule of the Messias, is the living God; and the living God is the fountaine of the living waters; and the Soule of the Messias is the River or Streame of lyfe.' And in another place, 'None but the Messias (sayth he) knoweth God fully, because he is the light of God and the light of the Gentiles, and therefore he knoweth God, and God is knowen by him.' Now when as they say that he knoweth GOD fully, they graunt him to be God; for who can comprehend God but GOD himselfe? And it is the selvesame thing which I spake of when I sayd 'light of light,' and when in comparing the Sonne to the Father, I lykened him as a streame to the fountaine, and the Sunne beames to the Sunne. Also we shall see in place convenient, that by the 'Soule of the Messias,' they meant 'The Word': and it is a wonderfull thing that all the names of God in *Hebrew* (saving onely the name of his Essence or single béeing) have the plurall termination, notwithstanding that they be joyned with a verbe of the singular number, (whercof the auncient Jewes doe yéeld the same reason that we doe:) and that a great sort of the Texts of the olde Testament which we alledge for the prooffe of the Trinitie, are expounded by them in the selvesame sence, howbeit that the *Talmudists* since the comming of our Lorde Jesus Christ, have taken great payne to wrest them to another meaning.

Rabbi Judas Nagid whom they commonly called the Sainct and Prophet, speaketh most plainly of all. Whereupon it is

R. Hamay in his Treatise of Speculation.

Haghiun.

R. Ishaac upon the booke of the Creation.

Cether choch-nah binah.

Rabbi Assee.

In his booke intytled, *Schaguar orah.* that is to say, The Gate of Light.

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The Epistle
of the Secretes
of R. Nehu-
mia the Sonne
of Hacana.
* This is to
bee seene even
in Sainct
Math. chap.
1. ver. 20.
where the
Angell sayth
to Joseph, that
Mary was
with child by
the holy
Ghost: for
otherwise it
had bin to no
purpose to
have spoken
of the holy
Ghost, of who
they had not
heard any
speaking
afore.
The same is
also in the
Preaching of
John the
Baptist,
Chapter 3.
verse 20. He
shall baptise
ye with the
holy Ghost &
with Fyre.
And in divers
other places.
And in very
deede the
name of the
holy Ghost is
rife among all
the Rabbines.

to bee understood, that men were forbidden to utter the uncommunicable name of God, (that is to wit *Jehova*.) save only in the daies of attonementmaking; and in sted thereof they were commaunded to use the name of Twelve letters, for the other afore mentioned hath but fower. And beeing asked what the name of Twelve letters was, he answered that it was 'Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost.' Also being demanded what the name of Two and fortie letters was; he answered, 'The Father is God, the Sonne is God, and the holy Ghost is God, three in one, and one in three.*' Now then, it was a doctrine received from hand to hand in the Schooles of the *Jewes*, as wee see by the long continuance thereof in the succession of their Cabale. And therefore the contention of the *Jewes* and of the *Rabbynes* was not (to speake properly) in withstanding the doctrine of the three Persons in the Essence of God; but in the applying thereof, namely to the incarnation of the Word, which in their eye was very farre unbecoming the Majestie of God.

Let us goe to *Philo* the *Jew* who wrate in *Greece*, and we shall finde him like in all poynts from leafe to leafe. 'God (sayth he) is the sovereigne begetter, and next to him, is the Word of God.' Also, 'There are two Firsts; the one is Gods word, & the other is God who is afore the Word; and the same Word is the beginning and the ende *της ἀρεσκείας* of his good pleasure, intent, or will.' And in another place, 'Like as a Citie (saith he) wherof the platforme is yet but set doune in the mynd of the Builder, hath no place elsewhere than in the Builder: So this world had not any being elsewhere than in the Word of God which ordeyned all things. For what other place could conteyne the operations of God, yea or even the simplest of his conceived patternes? Therefore to speake plainly, The World in understanding, is the Word or Conceyt of God that made it. And this is not the opinion of me onely, but also of Moyses himselfe.' And to conclude, he calleth him the 'Patterne of all Patternes, and the Mould wherein all things were cast.' And in an other place, 'This World (sayth he) is Gods yonger Sonne; but as for the elder Sonne, he cannot bee comprehended but in understanding. For he it is who by prerogative of eldership abyedeth with the Father.' Now, this is word for word the same thing that

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S. *John* sayth, 'And the Word was with God.' And againe, 'The Word is the place, the Temple, and the dwelling house of God, because the Word is the onely thing that can conteyne him.' And that is the thing which I sayd, namely, that GOD comprehending himselfe by his understanding, begate the Sonne or the Word equall to himselfe, because he conceyvet not any thing lesse than himselfe. And to shewe the greatnesse of this Word, he could scarce tell what names to give it. He calleth it the Booke wherein the essences of all things that are in y^e whole world are written and printed; the perfect Patterne of the World; the Daysonne that is to be seene but only of the Mynd; the Prince of the Angelles; the Firstborne of God; the Shepheard of his flocke; the chiefe Hyghpriest of the World; the Manna of mens Soules; the Wisedome of God; the perfect Image of the Hyghest; and the Organe or Instrument whereby God (being moved thereto of his owne goodnesse) created the World. And to be short, he calleth him the Firstbeginner, Lightfulnesse, or altogether light, God, and the Béer that is of himself. All these are such things as more cannot be attributed to God himselfe: and he could not have sayd more expressly, that the Word is Coeternall and Coessentiall with the Father, that is to say, of one selvesame substaunce and of one selvesame everlastingnesse with the Father. Neverthelesse, he addeth yet further, That this Worde hath in it the seedes of all things; That he hath distributed to every of them their severall natures; and that he is the invincible bond of the whole world & of al things therein. So then, he is (if I may so terme him) the materiall, efficient, and formall cause of all things. And unto whom can that bée attributed but unto God? Againe, There are (saith he) 'Two Speeches or words; the one being as an Originall deede, is above us; and the other being as an Exemplification or Copy therof, is within us. And Moyses (sayth he) calleth the same the Image of God; and this other which is our understanding, he calleth a later Copy thereof. And the sayd first Speech (sayeth he in his booke of the World) is the expresse print or stampe of God, and everlasting as God him selfe is.' And what more sayth S. *John*, or the Apostle to the *Hebrewes*? And in all those places, (which are worthie to be read throughout,) he

Philo in his
Treatise upon
the sixe Daies.
In his treatise,
That Dreames
are of God.

In his booke
of the World.

In his booke
of the remov-
ings of
Abraham.

Philo in the
Allegories of
the law, in
his Bookes of
Dreames, of
Tyllage, of
the firsword,
of the Heire
of Heavely
thigs, of the
evil that lay-
eth snares for
the good, &c.
παραύγεια

Philo in his
bookes con-
cerning the
Heyre of
Heavenly
things, of the
modesty of
Women, and
of the word,
&c.

Ἐκμαγείων,
that is to say,
as a print
printed in
Waxe.

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useth S. *Johns* own terme (namely *Logos*) to signifie the sayd Spéech, or Word.

Of the holy Ghost hee speaketh more darkly, because the *Hebrewes* (as we shal see hereafter) aimed chiefly at the Word or second Person. But it is enough for us to have scène, that this fountayne abode sufficiently cléere among the *Hebrewes*, till the comming of Christ (for *Philo* lived under the Emperours *Tiberius* and *Caligula*) though the streames thereof were as good as dried up among the *Gentiles*; verely because the *Messias* was to bee borne among the *Hebrewes*, of the beléefe in whom, this doctrine was to be the groundworke. For as soone as Christ was come into the World, it tooke light of him againe, as at the daysunne which inlighteneth not onely the halfe compasse whereon he shineth, but also even a part of that which seeth him not. For this doctrine was not only receyved in the Church, but also imbraced of all the great Philosophers that came after, notwithstanding that in all other things, they were deadly enemies to the Christians.

The later
Pythagorians
& Academiks.
Numenius in
his booke of
the Good.
Looke Euse-
bius and Cy-
rillus. lib. 8.

Numenius, the excellentest of all the *Pythagorians*, (of whom *Porphyrie* reporteth *Plotinus* to have made so great account, that he wrate a hundred bookes of Commentaries upon him) saith these wordes. 'He that will knowe the first and second GOD, must well distinguish, and above all things he must well settle his mynd; and then having called upon GOD, he may open the treasure of his thoughts. And therefore let us begin thus. God (I meane the first who is in himself,) is single, throughout cōpacted, and one in himself, and in no part dividable. Also the second and third God is one: but yet you must consider, that the First is the father of him that is the worker of all things.' [Now ye must understand, that] whereas wee say, the First, Second, & Third Person; it is their maner to say, the First, Second, and Third God, which thing you must marke here at once for all the residue following. And whereas he sayth that the first of them is the Father, and that he is single, and that they bee but one; it is not to bee doubted but that he maketh them all one Essence, so as the second holdeth of the first, as the Light holdeth of the Sunne. Againe, 'The first God (sayth he) is free from all worke, but the second is the maker which commaundeth Heaven: and therefore are there two lyves, the one

The Reader
must under-
stand, that by
three gods
thei meane
three Inbec-
ings, as they
thēselves do
declare it.

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from the first, and the other from the second; the one occupied about things subject to understanding, and the other about things subject both to understanding & sence. And moreover, by reason of the moving which goeth afore in the second, there is also a sending which goeth afore in the first; and so there is a certeyne joyntmoving from whence the healthfull order of the World is spred forth universally.'

Now, whereas he speaketh of moving, it is after the maner of the *Platonists*, who (metaphorically) doe meane, that to be understood or knowne is to move, and to understand or knowe is to bee moved, because they wanted words to expresse these déepe matters. And in the same sence doe wee reade in the Scripture, that the Sonne is sent of the Father. And againe, 'God the worker or maker (sayth he) is the beginner of Begetting; and God the Good is the beginner of Beeing: and the Second is the lively expresser of the First, as Begetting is an Image of Beeing.' And in another place he sayth, 'That this Worker beeing the Sonne, is knowne to all men by reason of the creating of the World; but as for the first Spirite, which is the Father, he is unknowne unto them.' And surely (cōsidering their maner of speaking) he could not have sayd more plainly, That the Sonne is the Image of the Father, that he hath his being in him, that he is one with him, & that by him the Father made all things. And it is agréable to that which *Proclus* witnesseth of him, who reporteth of this *Numenius*, that he woorshipped thrée Goddes; of whom he calleth the first the Father, the second the Maker, and the third the Worke procéeding from them both. Wherein wee ought not so much to seeke into the default, as to commend the good that is therein. Besides this, it is good to marke here once for all, that these men which speake unto us here of thrée Gods, are the same which confessed unto us hertofore, that there is but only one God. Whereupon it followeth that those thrée be but thrée Inbeings or Persons, in one Essence.

Plotinus, who was very well studied in the bookes of *Numenius*, steppeth yet further into the matter. And first of all, he hath made a Booke expressly & purposely of the thrée chiefe *Inbeings*, whereof I will set downe here a certeyne brieve Summe. 'There are (sayth he) three chiefe Inbeings,

σύνφυτος
κίνησις.

ὁ δημιουργός.

This Plotinus
lived under
the Emperour
Galien about
the yere of
our Lord 250.

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Plotin. Enn.
5. lib. 1.

Of the three
soverein or
cheefe persons
or Inbeings.
ἐπεὶ οὖν.

To the intent
the Reader
think not any
obscuritie in
this or other
that follow,
he must re-
member that
to the first
Inbeeing,
(that is to say,
Persone) the
Philosophers
give the
names of the
One, The
Mind, the
Good, the
Father, and
the Begetter:
unto the
second per-
sone, the
names of
Beër or he
that is, wit or
understand-
ing, the Beau-
tiful, and
sometimes
Speech, word,
Reason,
wisdom,
Sonne, and
the begotten:
and unto the
third persone,
the names of
Love, Will,

the One or the Good, the Understanding or Witte, and the Soule of the World. And of these three it is not for any man to speake, without praying unto God, & without settling his mynd afore unto quietnes. And if it be demaunded how one of them begetteth another; it is to bee considered that wee speake of everlasting things, and therefore we must not imagine any temporall begetting. For this begetting which wee speake of heere, importeth and betokeneth but onely cause and order. How commeth it to passe (sayth he) that this Understanding is begottē of the One? Surely it obteyneth not his beeing by meanes of any assent, commaundment, or moving of the One; but it is a light shed foorth everywhere, streaming from the One as brightnesse from the Sunne, and begotten of the One, howbeit without any moving of the One. For all things, as in respect of their continuing of their nature, doe necessarily yeeld out of their owne essence and present power, a certeyne nature that dependeth upon them, which is a very Image and countershape of the power from whence it proceedeth. As for example, Fyre yeeldeth heate, & Snowe cold: and Herbes yeeld chiefly sents or savors. And al things whē they be in their perfection, ingender somewhat. That then which is everlastingly perfect, doth everlastingly beget, yea and it begetteth a perfect and everlasting thing, howbeit that the thing begotten is lesse than the begetter. And what shall wee say then of the most perfect? That nothing proceedeth from him? Nay rather, that the greatest next him proceedeth of him. Now, the greatest and chiefest next unto the One, is the Understanding; the which hath neede alonly of the One, but the One hath no neede of it. Needes then must it bee, that that thing which is begotten of that which is better than Understanding, must be the Understanding it selfe. And this Understanding, being the very Word of GOD and the Image of GOD, beholdeth God, and is unseparably joyned with God, and cannot be separated from him otherwise than respectively, for that the one of them is not the other.' Verely after the same maner that wee affirme the Father to bee one person and the Sonne another, and yet neither of them both to be any other essence than the other. But let us see how God begetteth this Understanding, this Wit, or

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this Word. 'It is (sayth he) by the super abundance of himselfe. And therefore this begotten Understanding must needes reteyne much of the begetter in him, and have almost like resemblance unto him, as the light hath unto the Sunne, howbeit so as the begetter is not the very understanding it self': that is to say, they must differ respectively and not essentially; which expresseth his former spéech where hee sayd *ἐρεπότητι* after another maner. 'And how then shall he (sayth he) beget him? Even by a certeyne turning backe of the begotten to behold the begetter, and this beholding is nothing els but the mynding or understanding of the good. And like as the One is but One, so the understanding thereof is all things. For by being bred of the First Beginner, it knoweth all things, and bringeth foorth all things that are: namely, all Beautie of shapes, yea and al the Goddes that are to bee discerned by insight of Mynd.' These words of his are repeated infinite tymes, and therefore I will forbear to rehearse them here any more.

As touching the third Inbeing, whom he calleth the Soule of the World, thus sayth he thereof. 'Like as the Understanding is the begotten issew, Word and Image of God or of the one; so is the Soule of the World the issew, Word and Image of the Understanding, and is as a certeyne Reason ingendred of the Understanding, the substance whereof consisteth in contemplation; and the same Reason is as the light of the Understanding and dependeth thereupon. And as there is no meane betweene the One, and the Understanding; so is there no meane betweene the Understanding & this Soule of the World: but the difference is only this, that the one of them is as the very heate which is in fyre it self, & the other is as the heate which Fyre communiceth or imparteth unto other things' [by heating them with his heate.] And that is the same thing which wee affirme when we say, That the holy Ghost procéedeth from the father by the Sonne, calling him the Gift of God, because that by him (who is his Love) he voutsafeth to impart himselfe to us here beneath. But we shal discern his meaning yet better by the effects which he attributeth unto him. 'This Soule (sayth he) hath breathed life into all living things in the Ayre, in the Sea, and on the Land. It ruleth the Sunne, the Starres

Power, and the Soule of the World: & sometimes, the second world, &c. In respect of this Third, thei call the First the Amiable, and in respect of the Second, they call him the Mynd, as shall be seene by examples. *Noûs.*

Another persone and not another thing.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 2. & lib. 3.

Chap. 85. & Ennead. 3. lib. 9. Cap. ult.

The understanding of the Good.

OF THE TREWNES

and the Heaven; It hath quickened the Matter which erst was nothing and utterly full of darknesse; and all this hath it done by the onely will of it selfe. It is all throughout all, like to the Father, as well in that it is but one, as in that it extendeth it self into all places.' And he concludeth thus: 'And thus farre extendeth the Godhead.' In déede he speaketh not so distinctly thereof, as *Gregorie Nazianzene*; but yet forasmuch as he sayth that they be all thrée eternall, of one selvesame substance, and differing onely in this, that the one of them is not the other; the same may well bee gathered of his sayings. In the residue of his booke he proveth that the same was the opinion of *Plato*, *Parmenides*, and *Anaxagoras*. And because the inward man (as he termeth it,) is the Image of God; he taketh proofe of the thrée Inbeings, from the cōsideration of our Soule, wherein there is a Mynd, a Reason and a Life; which thrée be (notwithstanding) all but one Soule. Neverthelesse, he expresseth the maner of the sayd begetting in divers other places. 'The One (saith he) begetteth the understanding, of the abundance of himself. And the understāding is the Beeër, yea and the very being of the Beeër, (marke those words for all that followeth) and turneth backe againe to him, and is filled with him.' And his cōclusion is, that the Mynder, the Mynding and the Mynded, are in the Godhead all one thing; and that this Mynding, which is the first and most excellent act of the Godhead, is essentiall, that is to say, the very substance or béeing of the Godhead, because that all the actions of the Godhead are the very Godhead or God himselfe. Now, by the *Mynder*, he meaneth the *One* or the *First person*; and by the *Mynded* or *Beeër*, he meaneth the *Second*; and consequently that they be Coessentiall, [that is to say, both one selvesame thing, which is GOD.] Againe,* 'There is (sayth he) a dubble kynd of Mynding: For a man myndeth, eyther another, or himselfe. Now, he that myndeth himselfe, hath not a severall beeing from that thing which he myndeth; but being both in one, he beholdeth himself in himself, and so becommeth two parties, which yet notwithstanding be both but one thing still.' Now therefore there remayneth no more but to conclude, that the Begetter and the Begotten, the Mynder and the Mynded are both together, and also both

Plotinus Enn.
5. lib. 2. &
lib. 3. Chap.
5. 6. 7. 12.
& lib. 4.
Chap. 2.

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one selfsame thing; and that if they bee both one selfsame thing, the one of them is not better than the other. Whereupon it followeth, that whereas he said heretofore that 'The One is better than the Understanding' (which he calleth heere the *Mynded*;) he ment it but in way of relation, and not in way of beeing. For in another place he sayth againe, || 'He that is the very Living himself, is not the Mynded, but we cal him the Mynder. And although they differ one from another, yet notwithstanding it is not possible for them to bee dissevered. Onely they may be discerned in understanding, the one from the other, because the one of them is not the other; which maner of discerning is no impediment but that they remayne both one thing still. For only God is both the partie that is conceived in Mynd or Understanding, and also the partie that conceyvet him. Insomuch that when wee say, that the Mynder beholdeth the formes or Patternes of things; wee meane not that he looketh at them in another, but that he possesseth them in himselfe, by having in himself the partie that is mynded. Or rather were it amisse to say, that the same which is mynded is the very Mynder himselfe in his unitie and settled state; and that the nature of the Mynded which is behild, is an act that isseweth from him that Myndeth, which act consisteth in beholding or mynding him, and in beholding him becometh one selfsame thing with him?' Againe he sayth in an other place; 'To bee and to understand, are both one thing [in God:] and if any thing proceede thereof inwardly, yet is it no whit diminished thereby, because the Mynder and the Mynded are both one same thing. For the beholding of ones selfe in his selfe, is nothing but himselfe: But yet must there needes be alwaies both a selfesamenesse and also an othernesse.' Now then, let us conclude thus; that these two Inbeings or Persons, namely, 'The Mynded and the Mynder,' are both one thing; and therefore that they differ not but only in way of relation: And that forasmuch as there must needes bee ever both a selfesamenesse and also an othernesse, (if I may so terme them) the selfesamenesse is in the Essence or beeing, because that from God there proceedeth nothing but God; and the othernesse is in the Inbeings or Persons, as in respect that the one is the begetter and the other is the begotten.

Plotin. Enn.
5. lib. 5. Ch.
3. & lib. 6.
Ch. 1. & lib.
8. ch. 12. &
Enn. 3. lib. 8.
cap. 7. 8. 10.

Plotin. Enn.
5. lib. 9.
Chap. 1.

Plotin. Enn.
6. lib. 7. ch.
39. & lib. 7.
The same in
one respect,
& another in

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another
respect: or,
all one in one
respect, &
divers in an-
other respect.
Plotin. Enn.
5. lib. 5. cap.
12.

Moreover, this *Plotinus* calleth the begetter the Father, and the begotten the Sonne, after the same maner that we doe. ‘Certesse (sayth he) the understanding is beautifull, and the most beautifull of all,’ (and therefore in divers other places he termeth him the Beautifull, (as he termed the First the Good) ‘and sitteth in cleere light and brightnesse, and con- teyneth in him the nature of all things that are. As for this Worlde of ours, although it be beautifull, yet it is scarce an image or shadowe of him; but the world that is above, is set in the very light itself, where there is nothing that is voyd of understanding, nor nothing darke, but every where is led a most blessed lyfe. Now, lyke as he that beholdeth the Skye and the Starres, falleth by and by to seeking the author of this World: So he that considereth and commendeth the World that is not to be discerned but in understanding, doth lykewise seeke the author thereof, namely who he is that begate that World, and where and how he begate that Sonne, that understanding, that Child so bright and beautifull, even that Sonne full of the Father. As for the sovereign father hee is neither the understanding, nor the Sonne, nor the Child, but a Mynd higher thā Understanding and Child. And next unto him is the Understanding or Child, who needeth both understanding and nourishment, and is next to him that hath neede of nothing. And yet for al this, the Sonne hath the very fulnesse of understanding, because hee hath it immediatly and at the first hand. But as for him that is the higher (that is to wit the Father;) he hath no neede of him: for then should the Sonne be the very good it selfe.’ So say ‘we also that the Sonne hath all fulnesse, howbeit of the Father, and that the Father hath all fulnesse, but of himselfe: and that the Father is not the Sonne or the Worde, but that the Sonne or the Worde is of the Father. And in another place hee sayth, ‘What shall a man have gayned by seeing or beholding God? That hee shall have seene God begetting a Sonne, and in that Sonne al things, and yet holding him still in him without payne after his conceyving of him, of whom this World (as beautifull as we see it to be) is but an Image’: In which sort a painted Table is after a maner a portreyture of the mynd of him that made it. I sayd more- over that this Sonne is the Wisedome of the Father; the like

πρώτως ἔχει.

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whereof *Plotinus* also sayth unto us. 'All things (sayth he) that are done eyther by Art or by Nature, are done by Wisedome. If they bee done by Arte, from Arte we come to Nature, and of Nature againe we demaund from whence she hath it: whereby wee finally come to a Mynd, and then are we to seeke whether the Mynd have begotten Wisedome: And if that bee graunted, wee will inquire yet further, whereof? And if they say it begetteth it of it self: That cannot be, unlesse the Mynd be the very Wisedome it selfe. Wisedome therfore shalbe the Essence, and the very Essence shalbe Wisedome, and the worthinesse of the Essence shalbe Wisedome. And therefore every Essence that wanteth Wisedome, is in deede an Essence as in respect that Wisedome made it: but forasmuch as it hath no Wisedome in it selfe, it is no true Essence in deede.' Now, the ordinary teaching of *Plotine* is, to call the Understanding or second Person the very Béeer in déed, or the very true Essence; and the first person a thing higher than Understanding or Essence. Whereupon it should followe, that with him, Wisedome and true Essence are both one: that is to say, that the second person is Wisedome. To the same purpose also he sayth, that the sayd Mynd possesseth all things in his homebred Wisedome: That all shapes are but beames and effects thereof: and that the same is the trueth, yea and King of trueth; which is a name that the Scripture also attributeth to the second person.

Plotin. Enn.
5. lib. 8.
Chap. 5.

Noûs.

τὸ ὄντως ὄν.

Plotin in his
booke of
Inshapes.
Enn. 3. lib. 9.
Chap. 2.

As touching the third person, whom he calleth the Soule of the World, he seemeth in his other bookes to lay us a foundation of a better opinion. For, 'God (saith he) hath wrought, & he wrought not unwillingly: and therefore there is a will in GOD. Now surely he whose power is answerable to his will, should by and by become the better. God then who is the good it self [than the which nothing can be better,] filleth his owne will to the full, so as he is the thing that he listeth to be, and listeth to be that which he is, and his will is his very Essence. This will againe, is his act or operatiō, and that act is his very substance. And so God setteth downe himself in this act of Beeing.' And this is in a maner all one with the things which I spake in the former Chapter: namely, that God by his will produceth a third person, that is to say, the love of himself by delighting in

Plotin. Enn.
6. lib. 8. 8.
Chap. 13. 15.
27.

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himself. And in another place, 'This same GOD (sayth he) is both the lovely and love: and this Love is the love of himselfe: for of himselfe and in himselfe is he altogether beautifull. And whereas he is sayd to be altogether with himselfe; it could not be so, unlesse that both the thing which is and also the person which is together therewith, were both one selvesame thing. Now, if the togetherbeer, (for I must be fayne to use that word) & the thing together wherewith he is, be both one; and likewise the desirer and the thing desired be one also; Surely the desire and the Essence must also needes be one selvesame thing.' And this desire of the Mynd is the Love it self, whom we call the holy Ghost, which procéedeth by the Will, and so by the foresayd reasons is proved to bee Coessentiall. 'And this desire (sayth he in another place) is in the Mynd, which alwaies desireth and alwaies possesseth the first.' This Love then procéedeth not alonly from the first person, but also from the second, according to his former teaching concerning the Soule of the World, which is, that it procéedeth from the first person by the second. And thus have wee the three Persons or Inbeings acknowledged and layd foorth by *Plotinus*, whom I have alledged somewhat the more at length, because he avowweth it to be a very auncient doctrine, and that he had learned it of his predecessors *Numenius*, *Severus*, *Cronius*, *Gaius*, *Atticus*, *Longinus*, and *Philarchæus*, and did afterward teach it to his Disciples, (who esteémed him as a God,) as we shall see hereafter in their writings.

Plotin. Enn.
3. lib. 8.
Chap. 10.

Plotin. Enn.
3. lib. 9.
Chap. 1.

Cyril against
Julian lib. 8.
Porphyrus in
the lyfe of
Plotinus.
Plotinus a-
gaist the
Gnostiks.
Enn. 2. lib. 9.
Chap. 1.
Iamblicus of
the sect of the
Pythagorists,
and in his
booke of the
Mysteries of
the Egyp-
tians. Chap.
37. and 39.

Iamblichus sayth plainly that God made the World by his divine Word, but he playeth the Philosopher more profoundly in this behalfe. 'The first God (sayth he) being afore the Beeër, and alone; is the father of a first God whom he begetteth, and yet neverthelesse abydeeth still in the solenesse of his unitie: which thing farre exceedeth all abilitie of understanding. This is the Originall patterne of him that is called both Father to him selfe and Sonne to himself, and is the Father of one alone, and God verely good in deede.' Now, when he sayth that he is father to himselfe, and father to a second; therein he distinguisheth the persons. And whereas he sayth that notwithstanding this begetting, yet he abydeeth one still: he sheweth that there is no separating of

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the essences. And he speaketh there after the opinion receyved among the Divines of *Ægipt*.

But let us heare *Porphirie*, (to whom *Plotinus* committed the overlooking of his bookes,) the best learned of all the Philosophers as sayth Saint *Austin*, and yet neverthelesse the sworne enemie of Christenfolke. In his Historie of the Philosophers, these are his words: '*Plato* taught (sayth he) that of the Good, (that is to say of the first person) is begotten an understanding, by a maner unknowne to men; and that the same understanding is all whole next unto himselfe. In this understanding are all things that truely are, and all the Essences of all things that have beeing. It is the first beautifull, and beautifull of it selfe, and hath the grace of beautie of himselfe, and before all worlds proceeded from God as from his cause, selfeborne and father of himself. And this proceeding of his, was not as ye would say by Gods moving of himselfe to the begetting of him; but by his owne proceeding of himselfe from God, and by his issewing of him selfe. I say by proceeding, howbeit not at any beginning of tyme: (for there was not yet any tyme,) and tyme is nothing in comparison of him; But this Mynd is without time and only everlasting. Yet notwithstanding, as the first God is alwaies one, and alone although he have made all things, because nothing can match or compare with him: so also is this Understanding or Mynd everlasting, alone, without tyme, the tyme of things that are in tyme, and yet alwaies abyding in the unitie of his own substance.' Of a trueth he could not have sayd more plainly, that the Sonne is the Sonne eternally, and of the fathers owne substance.

Againe, expounding that foresaid so greatly renowned place of *Platoes* Epistle, 'The Essence of God (sayth he) extendeth even unto three Inbeeings; For there is the highest GOD or the good; and next him, the Second, who is the workmayster of all things; and lastly the third, who is Soule of the World: for the Godhead extendeth even unto the Soule. And that is the thing that *Plato* mēt in speaking of three Kings: for although all things depend uppon these three: yet is their depending, first upon the first God, secondly upon the God that isseweth of him, and thirdly upon the third that proceedeth from him.' Now, in that he raungeth

Porphirie in
his 4. booke
of the Philo-
sophers.
Cyrril. against
Julian. lib. 1.

Noūs.

Cyrril against
Julian. lib. 1.

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them in order thus one under another; he seemeth to play the Arrian. And yet is that very much in a Heathen man. But whereas he acknowledgeth one selfsame essence; he sheweth that the diversitie is only in the functions, and in the order of causes, which is one steppe beyond the Arrians. Also S. *Austin* saith that he did put the third person as a meane betwene the other two, after which maner we also doe call him the band and union of them two, notwithstanding that *Plotine* doe put him under the Understanding. But in his booke of the chiefe Fathers or first Authors of things, *Proclus* setteth doune his opinion yet more plainly: saying, that there is an everlasting or eternall Mynd, and yet notwithstanding, that afore the same there is a *Foreverternall* or former everlasting, unto whom the everlasting sticketh, because the Foreeverlasting is beyond all: and that in the everlasting beeing, there is a second and a third: and that betwene the Foreeverlasting and the Everlasting, Eternitie resteth in the midst. Now, forasmuch as al Eternities are alike equall, this forenesse and afternesse which are attributed to the persons, is not in respect of tyme, but (as *Plotine* sayth) in respect of Nature, and (as ye would say) in consideration of cause.

Proclus the Disciple of *Iamblichus* sayeth that the auncient *Platonists* did set downe three Beginners (whome wee call Persons.) Of the which, the first, they called the One, The second (namely the sayd Understanding) they called the one many, and [the third, that is to wit] the Soule [of the world,] they called the One and many. But it is best for us to heare what he himself saith. 'The Essence or understanding (sayeth he) for among the *Platonists* both are one) is sayd first of all, to have his being, of the Good, and to be about the same Good, and to be filled with the light of trueth which proceedeth from it, and to be partaker thereof by the union which it hath therewith, and is most divine, because it dependeth originally upon the Good.' Here ye see now a second person, Light of Light, having his fulnesse from the first. And whereas hee saieth of the first light that it is most divine; it is because he knoweth not by what words to expresse the preheminance of the Father. In another place hee sayeth that this understanding, (that is to say the Soule)

Porphyrus in
his booke of
the chiefe
fathers, al-
ledged by
Proclus.

προαιώνιον.

Proclus in
Platoes
Divinitie.

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is become One with the Good, that is to say, with the Father. And also that by his myndly Inworking he is the very eternitie it selfe, saving that hee dependeth upon the Unitie; and that he is like unto the One: and that the Soule or third person is like to the mynde, from whence it procéedeth. But here is yet a more evident thing. 'The most part (saith he) doe set downe three Beginnings, the Good, the Understanding or the Beeër, & the Soule. The first principall and uncommunicable, is the One, who is before and beyond all things. Next unto him is the one Unitie, which hath his being about the sayd first substance, and aboundeth by participation of him that is the One first of all. And this Inbeing is more then Substantiall, and the first of all the Inbeings in the Trinitie that is to be conceyved in understanding. And seeing that these two namely the One and the Understanding bee in the first rancke of the Trinitie, the first as the Begetter, the second as the Begotten, the first as the Perfecter, the secōd as the Perfected: there must needes be a meane power betwixt them, whereby and where-with the one may yeeld being and perfection to the understanding or Beeër. For this proceeding of the Beeër from the One, and likewise the turning back of the Beeër unto the One, is done by a certeyn power or might, and so there is a Trinitie; which is the full number of things belonging to a Mynd, so as this Trinitie is Unitie or Onenesse, Power or Might, and Understanding of Mynd. The One is the Producer or yeelderforth, the Understanding is the thing produced or yeeldedfoorth, and the Power or Might depending uppon the One, is also linked to the Understanding or Beeër. And this Trinitie is the Unitie or Onenesse, the Beeër or Understanding, and the Behaviour of them both, wherby the Unitie is the Unitie of the Understanding, and the Understanding is the understanding of the Unitie or One. Whereby Plato sheweth that the Father is the Father of the Understanding, & the Understanding is the Sonne of the Father, and that the Might or Power is covertly comprised betweene them both.' Now soothly, considering that he was a professed enemy to us Christians, and therefore eschewed to use our termes; he could not have spoken better, nor have sayd more plainly that the thrée Inbeings or Persones

συνήνεται.

Ἐνοειδής.

*τῆς πρωτίτης
τριάδος.*

*ὑποστατικὸν
καὶ τελειωτικὸν
τοῦ ὄντος.*

*πρόδος γὰρ
ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐνός
καὶ ἑκτασις εἰς
τὸ ὄν, τὸ μὲν
παράγον, τὸ δὲ
παραγόμενον.*

OF THE TREWNES

differ onely by way of relation, so as there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Behaviour of thē both, which we would have called the Love, the Union, or the kindnesse of them, that is to wit the holy Ghost.

Amelius a
Platonist.

Amelius the Disciple of *Plotine*, (as *Proclus* reporteth) maketh also thrē kings or thrē Understandings: namely, the *Beeër*, the *Haver*, and the *Seeër*: the first, the reall Understanding, the second the Understanding from the first, and the third the Understāding in the second. Whom *Theodorus* imitating, hath termed them, the ‘substantiall Understanding, the Understandable substance, and the Fountayne of Soules.’ Neverthelesse, as great an enimie as *Amelius* was to the Christians, yet notwithstanding after many florishes and fetches about, in the ende speaking of the second Person he yéeldeth to that which *S. John* speaketh of him in his Gospell. ‘Surely (sayth he) this is the Word that was from everlasting, by whom all things that are, were made, as *Heraclitus* supposed. And before God (sayth he) it is the very same Word which that barbarus fellow (for so did he terme *S. John*) avowcheth to have bin with God at the beginning in the ordering and disposing of things when they were confused, and to be God, by whom all things were absolutely made, and in whom they bee living and of whom they have their life and beeing; and that the same Word clothing it selfe with Mans flesh, appeared a Man, and yet left not to shewe the Majestie of his nature. Insomuch that after he had bin put to death, he tooke his Godhead to him againe, and was very GOD as he had bin afore ere he came downe into Bodie, Flesh, and Man.’ Another *Platonist* speaking to the same effect, sayd that the beginning of *S. Johns* Gospell was worthie to be graved everywhere in letters of Gold. Thus ye see that the Gréeke Philosophie as wel afore as after the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ, agréeeth with our Divinitie.

καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν
εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν
εἶναι. ἐν ᾧ τὸ
γενόμενον ζῶν,
καὶ ζῶν καὶ
ὄν πεφυκέναι.
Cyril. against
Julian. lib. 8.
Austin in the
Citie of God.
lib. 10.

The Latin
Philosophers.
Chalcidius
uppon *Platoes*
Timeus.

As touching the *Latins*, they fell to Philosophie somewhat late; but yet as little as we have of their doings, they digresse not from the others. *Chalcidius* who wrate uppon *Platoes* *Timæus*, hath these words: ‘The Sovereigne and unutterable God, is the Originall of all things; next unto whom is his Providence as a second God, who giveth the law aswell for

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the temporall as for the eternall life. And furthermore, there is a third substance as a second Understanding, which is the keeper of the sayd eternall Lawe. The highest God commaundeth, the second ordereth, and the third uttereth or publisheth. Now the Soules doe the Lawe, and the Lawe is the very Destinie it selfe.' And a little afore he sayth, that the sayd Providence, which he setteth in the second place, is the everlasting Understanding of God, which is an everlasting act, and a ressembler of his goodnesse, because he is alwaies turned towards him that is the very Good it self. Also *Macrobius* sayth, that *Platoes* opinion concerning the one chief God and the one Understanding bred and borne of him, is no fable at all, but a thing certeyne, howbeit that he could not otherwise expresse it than by examples of the Daysonne and such other things. And surely if we had the bookes of *Varro*, and other great Clerks, it is possible that we should find much more to this purpose. Thus then ye see how the *Platonists* are all of one opinion and mynd in the doctrine of the Trinitie, wherein some of them sawe more and some lesse; some affirme the premisses whereof our conclusions ensewe, and othersome conclude the same expressly with us.

The *Aristotelians* have no voyce here, because they stand all in commenting upon *Aristotle*, who gave himselfe more to the liberall Artes and the searching of Nature, than to looking up to God the maker of all things. Yet notwithstanding, *Avicen* rejected it not: insomuch that he sayth that the first Mynd yeldeth foorth a second Mynd, and the second a third; but he waded no deeper into the matter.

Let us adde here the confessions of the very Devilles, who eyther by meanes of the revelations therof which have bin made unto us, or by reason of their falling frō above, have had some knowledge thereof. Soothly it is alwaies a pleasure to heare them yeld record to the trueth even spight of their harts. Wee read that one *Thulis* reigned in old tyme in *Ægipt*, who waxing proude, asked *Serapis* the chiefe Idoll of the *Ægyptians*, (adjuring him strongly that he should not deceive him) who he was that had reigned afore him and who should reigne after him, and also who was mightier or

Macrobius
uppon the
Dreame of
Scipio.
God & Mynd
begotten of
God.

Avicen.

The Oracles
of *Divelles*.
Sybill.
παντοτρόφον
κτιστήν ὅστις
γλυκὺν πνεῦμα
ἅπασιν
κάτθετό χ'
ἡγητήρα θεῶν
πάντων ἐποίη-
σεν.

OF THE TREWNES

Suidas in the greater than hee. To whom *Serapis* answered in these fower
lyfe of Thulis Verses.

*First God, and next the Word, and then their Spright;
Which three be one and joyne in one all three.
Their force is endlesse; get thee hence fraile wight,
The man of life unknowne excelleth thee.*

Also *Apollo* being demaunded concerning the true Religion,
answered in ten Verses thus,

*Unhappie Priest, demaund not me the last
And meanest Feend, concerning that divine
Begetter, and the deere and only Sonne
Of that renowned King, nor of his Spirit
Conteyning all things plenteously throughout,
Hilles, Brookes, Sea, Land, Hell, Ayre, and lightsome Fyre.
Now wo is me, for from this house of myne
That Spirit will me drive within a while,
So as this Temple where mens destynies
Are now foretold, shall stand all desolate.*

Porphirius
as he is
alledged by
S. Austin in
his ninth
book of the
Citie of God.
Cha. 23.

Being asked another tyme (as sayth *Porphirius*,) whether
was the better of the Word or the Lawe; he answered like-
wise in verse, That men ought to beléeve in God the begetter,
and in the King that was afore all things, under whom
quaketh both Heaven and Earth, Sea and Hell, yea and the
very Gods themselves, whose Lawe is the Father that is
honored by the *Hebrewes*. And these Oracles were wont to
be sung in Verse, to the intent that all men should remember
them the better as *Plutarch* reporteth. Now I have bin the
longer in this Chapter, because most men thinke this doctrine
so repugnant to mans Reason, that Philosophie could never
allowe of it; not considering that it is another matter to
conceyve a thing, than to proove or allow it when it is
conceyved. And therefore aswell for this Chapter as for that
which went afore, let us conclude, both by reason added to
Gods revealing, and by the traces thereof in the World, and
by the Image thereof shining foorth in our selves, and by the
Confession of all the auncient Divines, and by the very
depositions of the Devilles themselves; that in the onely one
Essence or substance of God, there is a Father, a Sonne, and

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a holy Ghost; the Father everlastingly begetting the Sonne, and the Spirit everlastingly procéeding from them both; the Sonne begotten by the Mynd, and the Spirit procéeding by the Will: which is the thing that we had here to declare. And let this handling of that matter concerning Gods essence bee taken as done by way of prevention, howbeit that it depend most properly uppon the revelation of our Scriptures, which being proved will consequently yéeld prooffe to this poynt also. There may bee some perchaunce which will desire yet more apparant proofes: but let them consider that wee speake of things which surmount both the arguments of Logike and also Demonstration. For, inasmuch as Demonstrations are made by the Causes, the Cause of all Causes can have no Demonstration. But if any be so wilful as to stand in their owne opinion against the trueth which all the World prooveth & al Ages acknowledge: let them take the payne to set doune their Reasons in writing; and men shall see how they be but eyther bare Denyalles, or Gesses, or simple distrusts or misbeleefs of the things which they understand not, and that they be unable to wey against so grave and large Reasons and Recordes, as I have set doune heretofore. And therefore, the glorie thereof be unto God. *Amen.*

APPENDIX

I

VALOUR ANATOMIZED IN A FANCIE

VALOUR towards Men, is an Emblem of Ability, towards Women, a Good quality signifying a better. Nothing draws a Woman like to it. Nothing is more behovefull for that Sex: for from it they receive Protection, and in a free way too, without any danger. Nothing makes a shorter cut to obtaining: for a Man of Arms is alwaies void of Ceremony, which is the Wall that stands betwixt *Piramus* and *Thisby*, that is Man, and Woman: For there is no Pride in Women but that which rebounds from our own Baseness (as Cowards grow Valiant upon those that are more cowards). So that only by our pale asking we teach them to deny; and by our shamefac'dnesse we put them in mind to be modest. Whereas indeed it is cunning Rhetorique to perswade the hearers that they are that already which the world would have them to be. This kind of Bashfullnesse is farre from Men of valorous disposition, and especially from Souldiers: for such are ever Men (without doubt) forward and Confident, losing no time lest they should lose Opportunity, which is the best Factor for a Lover. And because they know Women are given to dissẽble, they will never believe them when they deny. Certainly before this age of Wit and wearing Black brake in upon us, there was no way known to win a Lady, but by Tilting, Turneyng, and Riding to seeke Adventures through dangerous Forrests; In which time these slender Striplings with little Legs were held but of Strength enough to marry their Widdowes. And even in our dayes, there can be given no reason of the inundation of Servingmen upon their Mistresses, but only that usually they carry their Masters Weapons, and their Valour. To be accounted handsome, just, learned, and well favoured, all this carries no danger with it. But it is better to be admitted to the title of Valiant acts: at least that imports the venturing of Mortality; and all Women delight to hold him safe in their Arms who hath escaped thither

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through many dangers. To speak at once; Man hath a Privilege in Valour. In Cloathes and good Faces we do but imitate Women; and many of that Sex will not think much (as far as an answer goes) to dissemble Wit too. So then these neat Youths, these Women in Mens Apparrell, are too near a Woman to be beloved of her; they be both of a Trade, but he of grim aspect, and such a one a lasse dares take, and will desire him for Newnesse and Variety. A Scar in a Mans face, is the same that a Mole is in a Womans, and a Mole in a Womans is a jewel set in White, to make it seem more white. So a Scar in a Man is a marke of honour, and no blemish; for tis a Scar and a Blemish in a Souldier to be without one. Now as for all things else which are to procure love, as a good Face, Wit, Cloathes, or a good Body; each of them (I must needs say) workes somewhat for want of a better; that is, if Valour corrive not therewith. A good Face avayleth nothing; if it be on a Coward that is bashfull, the utmost of it is to be kist, which rather increaseth than quencheth Appetite. He that sendeth her Gifts, sends her word also, that he is a Man of small Gifts otherwise: for wooing by signes and tokens implies the Author dumbe. And if *Ovid* (who writ the Law of Love) were alive, as he is extant, and would allow it as a good diversity; then Gifts should be sent as Gratuities, not as Bribes; and Wit would rather get promise than Love. Wit is not to be seene, and no Woman takes advice of any in her Loving, but of her own Eyes, or her Wayting Womans: nay, which is worse, Wit is not to be felt, and so no good Bedfellow. Wit applied to a Woman makes her dissolve her simperings, and discover her Teeth with Laughter; and this is surely a Purge for Love: for the beginning and originall of Love is a kind of foolish Melancholy. As for the Man that makes his Taylor his Bawde, and hopes to inveagle his Love with such a coloured Suite, surely the same man deeply hazzards the losse of her Favour upon every Change of his Cloathes. Soe likewise the other that Courts her silently with a good Body, let me tell him that his cloathes stand allwaies betwixt his Mistris eyes and him. The Comlynesse of Cloathes depends upon the Comliness of the Body, and so Both upon Opinion. She that hath been seduced by Apparrell, let me give her to weete, that men allwayes put off their Cloathes before they go to bed; and let her that hath

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been inamored of her Servants Body understand, that if She saw him in a skin of Cloath (that is, in a suite made to the pattern of his Body) she would discern slender cause to Love him ever after. There are no Cloaths fit so wel in a Womans eye, as a Suite of Steele, though not of the fashion: and no man so soon surpriseth a Womans Affections, as he that is the subject of Whisperings, and hath allwaies some 20 stories of his own Achievements depending upon him. Mistake me not, I understand not by Valour one that never fights but when he is backt by Drink or Anger, or hissed on by Beholders; nor one that is desperate, nor one that takes away a Servingmans Weapons, when perhaps they cost him his quarters wages; nor one that wears a privy Coat of defence, and therein is Confident: for then such as make Bucklers would be accounted the very scum of the Common-wealth. I intend one of an even Resolution, grounded upon Reason, which is allwaies even; having his Power restrayned by the Law of not doing Wrong.

Philip Sidney:

II

H. Sidney { I have so longe owed this bearer this expressed sum of money as I am forced for the safegarde of my credit to request you to lette him have it presentlie, and this shall be your sufficient discharge to be received at Midsomer quarter. I pray you as you love me performe it. By me
"Philip Sidney"

III

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S WILL

In the name of God Amen, I Sir Philipp Sydney, Knight, sore wounded in Body, but whole in Mind, all Praises be to God, do make this my Last Will and Testament, in Manner and Form following: First, I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God that gave it me, and my Body to the Dust from whence it came. ~~Item, I give and bequeath, and do endow Dame Frances Sidney, my Wife, of the one Half of all my Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Rights, and Reversions, with all and sin-~~

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gular the Appurtenances and Commodities whatsoever, for and during her natural Life only. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my Brother Thomas Sydney, and to the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten, so much of my Lands as is now worth yearly cl. English Money, or may so be lett by Year, to be assigned and set out to him by my Brother Robert Sydney, so soon as conveniently he may, after my Death; and, if he do not so assigne the same, then I beseech and will, that the Right Honourable the Earl of Huntingdon, by himself, or some other chosen by him, do it; always excepted, that it be not assigned, out of the Mannor of Penshurst, nor of any Parcel thereof. *Item*, I will, and absolutely authorise, the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, and my Brother Robert Sydney, or either of them, to sell so much of my Lands lying within the Countys of Lincoln, Sussex, or Southampton, as shall pay all my Debts, as well those of my Father, deceased, as of mine own; beseeching them to hasten the same, and to pay the Creditors with all possible Speed, according to that Letter of Attorney, which Sir Francis Walsingham already hath, sealed and subscribed by me to that End. Which Letter of Attorney, I do hereby confirm and ratifie, so far forth, as concerneth for that purpose, to all Effect of Law. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my Brother Robert Sydney, and to the Heirs Males of his Body lawfully begotten, and, for Default of such Issue, to my Brother Thomas Sydney, and to the Heirs Males of his Body lawfully begotten, all other my Lands, Tenements, Rights, Reversions, and Commodities whatsoever, with all and singular their Appurtenances, together with the Reversion and Inheritance in Fee, of all those Lands, with the Appurtenances, which I have before bequeathed to my Wife, during her Life natural. And the Remainder of those Lands which I have also bequeathed to my Brother Thomas, and to his Heirs Males, upon this Condition, that he, the said Robert Sydney, or his Heirs, do well and truly pay to Elizabeth Sydney, my Daughter, the full and entire Sum of four thousand Pounds of English Money, at, or before, the Feast of St. Michael the Arch Angel, which shall be in the Year of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred eighty and eight. And that he, or his Heirs, do also pay yearly such Annuitys, as hereafter, in this my Will, I have bequeathed to my Servants, in Consideration of their Services.

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Which Sum of four thousand Pounds, so to be paid by my said Brother, I give unto my said Daughter for her Portion. And pray the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, or the other, whom the Law shall appoint Tutors over her, to put to the best Behoofe, for the better Preferment of my said Daughter, either by Purchase of Land or Lease, or other good and godly Use, but in no Case to let it out for any Usury at all. Provided always, that if Dame Frances Sydney, my Wife, be now with Child with Issue Male, and that that Issue Male liveth, that then my Will and Bequest to my Brother Robert Sydney, of my Lands, with their Appurtenances, aforesaid, be merely void to all Effect, as though it had never been; any Clause, Word, Sentence, or Construction to the Contrary, notwithstanding. And then I will and bequeath, that my Daughter, Elizabeth Sydney, shall have two Parts of all my Lands before bequeathed to my Brother Robert Sydney, for and untill she, or her Tutors for her, have clearly received, or may well receive, the Sum of four thousand Pounds, for her Portion, as aforesaid. But, if so be my Wife be now with Child with Issue Female, then I will, that my Brother Robert Sydney shall have my Lands, to him and his Heirs Males, as before I have bequeathed, paying further to that Issue Female, my Daughter, the Sum of one thousand Pounds English Money, at the Feast of St. Michael the Arch Angel, which shall be in the Year of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred eighty and eight. Which Sum, together with the said four thousand Pounds, before bequeathed to Elizabeth Sydney, my Daughter, and by my Brother Robert to be paid; I then will, to be equally divided between them, and the one to have as much as the other, in every Condition. *Item*, I will, that if my Wife be now with Child of Issue Male, and that that Issue Male dye without Heirs Males of his Body lawfully begotten, that then my Lands shall revert and come to my Brother Robert Sydney, and to the Heirs Males of his Body lawfully begotten, as before is bequeathed. *Item*, I give to my most honourable good Lord, the Earl of Leicester, one hundred Pounds, as a Token of my devowed Service, and great Love, which I have ever borne to him in all Duty. *Item*, I give to my singular good Lord, the Earl of Warwick, one hundred Pounds, as a Remembrance of my Duty and great Love to him. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my dear Sister, the Countess of

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Pembroke, my best Jewell beset with Diamonds. *Item*, I ^{have} give and bequeath to my most honoured good Ladys, the Countess^{of} of Huntingdon, the Countess of Warwick, and the Countess of Leicester, every one of them a Jewell, the best I have. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my very good Friend, Sir William Russell, my best gilted Armour. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my dear Friends, Mr. Edward Dyer, and Mr. Fulke Grevell, all my Books. *Item*, I give and bequeath to Mr. Edward Wotton one Fee Buck, to be taken yearly out of my Park at Penshurst, during his Life natural. *Item*, I give, grant, and bequeath to my Servants Henry White, Henry Lyndley, and Griffith Maddox, several Annuitys of forty Pounds by Year, to every one of them, for and during their Lives natural; to issue out and go out of those my Lands before bequeathed to my Brother Robert Sydney, and by him or his Heirs, or the Occupiers of those Lands, yearly to be paid to every of them, during their Lives natural, according to the true Meaning of this my Will, any Clause before written to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. *Item*, I give to my Servant Philip Jordayne and to his Wife, and to the longer Liver of them, one Annuity of thirty Pounds by Year, to be paid unto them by my Brother Robert Sydney, out of the said Lands before to him bequeathed, for and during their Lives natural, and the longer Liver of them. *Item*, I give to my Servant Adrian Molgueros one Annuity of twenty Marks by Year, for and during his Life natural, to be paid unto him, as to the other before is set down. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my Servant Stephen, now Prisoner in Dunkirk, the Sum of two hundred Pounds, to be paid unto him, either there, to redeem him thence, if there be no other mean, or, after his Coming out, for his better Maintenance: Besecching, most humbly, the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, and the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, to be a Mean for his Deliverance, to whose good Favour I commend the State of him, having lain so long in Misery. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my Servant Tristram Gibbs the Sum of twenty Pounds; and I do specially commend him to the good Favour of my Brother Robert Sydney, and pray him, to have a favourable Care over him, and of my Servant Philip Jordayne. *Item*, I give to every Gentleman, my Servant in Ordinary, which came with me in November last to Flushing, and have,

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While that Time, waited on me, the Sum of ten Pounds; and, to every other Gentleman, my Servant in Ordinary, five Pounds. And I give to all my Yeomen, which, in November last, came with me to Flushing, and since have waited on me, five Pounds; and to every other my Servants now in Ordinary, three Pounds. *Item*, I give and bequeath to Dr. James, for his Pains taken with me in this my Hurt, the Sum of thirty Pounds. *Item*, I give to the five Surgeons, which take Pains with me, in this my Hurt, to every of them, the Sum of twenty Pounds. *Item*, I will, that my Wife cause three Rings to be made, and, in every of them a Diamond, to be presented and given, one to the Right Honourable the Earl of Huntingdon, one other to the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, and the third, to my very good Lady, the Countess of Sussex, in Token of my very dutifull Love to every of them. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my most honoured good Father-in-Law, Sir Francis Walsingham, one hundred Pounds; and to that most honourable Lady, the Lady Walsingham, my good Mother-in-Law, one hundred Pounds, to bestow in Jewells, or other Things, as pleaseth them to wear for my Remembrance. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my Servant, John Uvedale, in Consideration that he hath voluntarily released unto me his Title of Ford Place, which I gave him, and in Consideration of his long and very faithfull Service to me, the Sum of five hundred Pounds English Money, to be paid unto him by my Executrix, immediately after my Death; and I pray the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, and other my very honourable good Friends, to favour him much for my Sake, and to let him have Access unto them, and their Countenances and Help in his good and honest Causes, whensoever he shall need them. *Item*, I pray and beseech the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, to favour my Servant, John Langford, and to be the Mean to her Majesty, that he may have the Keeping of Otford Park, or to use other good Mean, as it pleaseth him, that my Servant may still enjoy the same hereafter, as heretofore he hath done by the Grant of my Father. *Item*, I will, that my Brother Robert Sydney shall also pay to mine Executrix, out of those my Lands to him bequeathed, as aforesaid, all my Legacys given by this my Will, and that she again pay them according to my Bequest and Meaning. Or else I will and authorize the Right Honour-

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able Sir Francis Walsingham, to sell so much Lands as I have bequeathed to my Brother Robert, as he may, with the Sum of Money which he shall receive for the same, pay to mine Executrix, and she again, to pay them over all those Legacys whatsoever, which I have bequeathed, as aforesaid. *Item*, I pray mine Executrix to be good, and to give so much Money, as to her Discretion shall seem good, to those mine old Servants, to whom by Name particularly I have given nothing to; referring it to her, as she shall think good. *Item*, the rest of all my Goods, moveable and immoveable, and all my Chattels, I give and bequeath to my most dear and loving Wife, Dame Frances Sydney, whom I make my sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament. And I constitute and appoint the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Francis Walsingham, jointly and severally, Supervisors of this my Will and Testament: Beseeching them to have an honourable Care to see the Things performed, according to my true Meaning therein contained. Given under my Hand and Seal at Arnham, the last Day of September, one thousand five hundred eighty and six, and in the eight and twentyeth Year of the Reign of my most gracious Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, of England, &c.

Ph. Sydney.

I give and bequeath to my dear Friend, William Hungate, one Ring to be made for him, with my Name engraven in it, of twenty Pounds Vallue, for him to wear in my Remembrance. *Item*, I give to her Majesty, my most gracious Sovereign, one Jewell, worth one hundred Pounds, which I pray Sir Henry Goodier, my good Cousin and Friend, to present to her Royal Highness, as a Remembrance of my most loyal and bounden Duty to her Majesty. *Item*, I will, that a Jewell, of twenty Pounds Value, be bought and presented in like Manner by him, to my singular good Friend, Sir Thomas Hennage, in Token of my great Love unto him. Signed, sealed, and delivered to Henry Lyndley, the Day and Year abovesaid, in the Presense of Us, William Hungate, John Uvedale, Phillippi Jordan, George Digby, Henry Goodier.

A CODICIL to be annexed to my Will, on Monday the seventeenth of October, a thousand five hundred eighty six. First,

APPENDIX

3

I add unto my Will these Parts and Legacys following: I give and bequeath to Captain Richard Harte the yearly Annuity of ten Pounds, to issue and go out of my Lands, before bequeathed to my Brother Robert Sydney, during his Life natural. *Item*, I give to Mr. Temple the yearly Annuity of thirty Pounds by Year, to be in like Manner paid, during his Life natural. *Item*, I give and bequeath to Ivert, the Bonesetter, twenty Pounds. *Item*, I give to Mr. Marten, my Surgeon, twenty Pounds. *Item*, I give to Roger, my Apothecary, six Pounds 13s. 4d. *Item*, I give to the four Surgeons, before named in my Will, *viz.* Goodridge, Kelley, Adrian, and John, every of them ten Pounds a Piece more. *Item*, I give to the Doctor, that came to me Yesterday, twenty Pounds more. *Item*, I give to my most honourable Lord, the Earl of Leicester, my best Hangings for one Chamber, and the best Piece of Plate I have. *Item*, I give to my beloved and much honoured Lord, the Earl of Essex, my best Sword. *Item*, I give to my noble Lord, the Lord Willoughby, one other Sword, the best I have. *Item*, I give to Mr. Gifford, Minister, twenty Pounds. *Item*, I give to Mr. Fountain, the Minister, twenty Pounds. *Item*, I give to my good Friends, Sir George Digbie, and Sir Henry Goodere, either of them a Ring.

Ge. Digby. H. Goodere.

Philip Sydney.

Which Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 19 June, 1589, and Administration granted to the Lady Frances, his Relict, and Executor.

NOTES

In the following references the lines are numbered from the top of the page, including titles, but not, of course, the headline. The page numbers are in heavier type.

The Defence of Poesie.

Q 1 = Br. Mus. C. 57. h. 38. [See title-page, p. 1.]

Q 2 = Br. Mus. C. 34. f. 12. *The book is arranged as follows: A 2 contains the title:*

An | Apologie | for Poetrie. | Written by the right noble, vertu-|ows, and learned, Sir Phillip | Sidney, Knight. | *Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.* | At London, | Printed for Henry Olney, and are to be sold at | his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe | of the George, neere to Cheap-gate. | Anno. 1595.

On A 3 is printed the epistle:

To the Reader

The stormie Winter (deere Chyldren of the Muses, which hath so long held backe the glorious Sun-shine of divine Poesie, is heere by the sacred pen-breathing words of divine *Sir Phillip Sidney*, not onely chased from our fame-inviting Clyme, but utterly for ever banisht eternitie: then graciously regret the perpetuall spring of ever-growing invention, and like kinde Babes, either enabled by wit or power, help to support me poore Midwife, whose daring adventure, hath delivered frō Oblivions wombe, this ever-to-be-admired wits miracle. Those great ones, who in themselves have interr'd this blessed innocent, wil with *Aesculapius* cōdemne me as a detractor frō their Deities: those who Prophet-like have but heard presage of his cōming, wil (if they wil doe wel) not onely defend, but praise mee, as the first publike bewrayer of Poesies *Messias*. Those who neither have seene, thereby to interre, nor heard, by which they might be inflamed with desire to see, let them (of duty) plead to be my Champions, sith both theyr sight and hearing, by mine incurring blame is seasoned. Excellent Poesie, (so created by this Apologie,) be thou my Defendresse; and if any wound mee, let thy beautie (my soules Adamant) recure mee: if anie commend mine endeavored hardiment, to them commend thy most divinest fury as winged encouragement; so shalt thou have devoted to thee, and to them obliged

Henry Olney.

The epistle is followed by "Faults escaped, thus corrected." A 4 contains "Foure Sonnets written by Henrie Constable to Sir Phillip Sidneys soule." The text of the "Apologie" begins on B.

P = Penshurst MS. *It is a thin book of 27 folios, bound in parchment. The front cover bears the following title:*

Defence of Poetry | by Sr Philip Sydney

The first folio is not numbered, on the top of its recto is written:

R Sydney

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The text, carefully written in a XVIIth century hand, begins on the next folio, numbered 1 and ends on folio 14. The remainder of the book is blank.

B = Folio 1598	E = Folio 1613	H = Folio 1633	L = Folio 1662
C = Folio 1599	F = Folio 1621	I = Folio 1638	M = Folio 1674
D = Folio 1605	G = Folio 1627	K = Folio 1655	

For a description of the folio editions, see vol. I, p. 522.

In the Folios the "Defence" comes after "Certaine Sonets."

3. 3. Q 2 "*Edward Wotton*" instead of "*E. W.*" 8. H—M practice
 9. DF—M contemplation 10. P att that tyme 11. LM that when 12. C
 our learne-like 20. C certaine Phrases *inserts a full stop after* Phrases
 21. Q 2 a *instead of the before* horse 27. Q 2 are parties 28. Q 2 P
Pugliano his strong 29. F—M *omit* wil 32. F—M *omit the before*
 defence 34. Q 2 sith the scholler 35. HI *insert a before* more

4. 2. D *inserts of after* highest 3. P *omits the before* laughing *omits*
 some 4. Q 2 sith the former 5. E—M *omit* had *after* hath 6. D
 using *instead of* used 9. C *omits* very 12. Q 2 P *insert by after* milke
 13. Q 2 will they now play P will they not playe 14. P rather with the
 Vipours 16. Q 2 F—M of her manifold 17. Q 2 *Hesiodus* 20. C
 or *instead of* as 22. Q 2 to their posterity Q 2 P BD—M may justly
 23. P For that not onely 29. PC *omit comma after* "*Livius*" 31. B—M
 made it to aspire 32. C *Dantes* 35. Q 2 P *insert in before* other
 37. Q 2 P masks

5. 3. Q 2 hid to M in the world 6. P *omits* "*Plato*" 8. CI
 dependeth 9. Q 2 P standeth faineth 9, 10. C burgesse 10. Q 2
 P F—M *insert to before* speak 12. F—M circumstance E—M meeting
 13. D and *instead of* with *after* walke, 14. KLM *Gyges's* 15. Q 2 P
 knoweth 19. Q 2 of Poets 20. C the nine nine Muses 21. Q 2
 stole 22. P particulars 27. D despot of Poetrie 29. C plainly
instead of plaine 30. KLM beside 32. Q 2 P goeth 33. KLM
 amongst 34. M writings P writing is; yett are their Poettes helde in
 devowt reverence who make and singe 35. Q 2 *Areytos* 39. P D
 delight C *inserts that after* untill 39, 40. Q 2 P exercises

6. 1. C them that that know 3. F—L they long time had Poets M
 shew, long time had Poets 4. P conquest 6. KLM Poet's remain
 even 7, 8. P in soone beinge them in 8. HI *insert the before* long
 13, 14. P much to saie *Vaticinium* 14. E *Viticinari* C is manifested
 17. D changeable *instead of* chanceable 17, 18. Q 2 P D any such verses
 BE—M uppon of any such 20. Q 2 P any *instead of* some C *inserts*
one after some 21. D *omits* of his Q 2 P of hys making, whereof the
 23. K in this childhood M with his Vers 23, 24. BD—I *print* "*Arma*
...in armis" as a separate line 25. Q 2 *inserts which before* although
 26. Q 2 to think that spirits 28. P so it serveth it 29. Q 2 P B—M
omit by after both 30. I *Sybilla's* 32. Q 2 in words 34. Q 2 P HI
 further 35. Q 2 BD—M *Vates* Q 2 *note of interrogation instead of comma*
after "*Vates*" C *omits that after* say

7. 6. LM also *instead of* almost 7. F—M shewed 10. Q 2 *inserts*
mee before I 15. Q 2 *omits* have *before* named 16. Q 2 P Greekes
 called him a Poet, which 18. KLM *omit* word Q 2 *Poiein* 22. Q 2
 my *instead of* any 23. Q 2 to mankinde 28. Q 2 seeth, setteth downe

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29. Q 2 So doe 30. Q 2 B—M Musitian P in tyme E—M tunes
instead of times 33. Q 2 and *instead of* or 36. C onely upon rules of
 38. E—M *comma after* persuade P there one gone Artificiall E—M *omit*
comma after thereon 40. Q 2 *inserts a before* mans
8. 1, 2. P the nature as health or sicknes unto it. And the 2. E—M
 abstract motions 3. P be Comitted 5. C rigour *instead of* vigor
 6. Q 2 *omits into and inserts a comma after* effect P effect an other nature:
 in effect an other nature: in makinge BD—M another 8. BD—HKLM
 anew I *omits comma after* new HI forme H *inserts a colon after* forme
 I *inserts a comma after* forme F—M *insert of before* such 11. Q 2 ranging
 onely within P rainging onely with in the *Zodiacke* 13. Q 2 P *omit so*
 18. Q 2 P B—M cunning 21. FGH *Xenophon* B—M *insert and before*
 so 22. M *Fncus* 24. E—M *omit for before* everie Q 2 P *any instead*
of everie Q 2 the *instead of* ech 26. C *omits in before* the worke
 26, 27. C is manifested 27. B—M *insert the before* delivering 28. Q 2
 hath imagined I *inserts them after* delivering 29. D wee were wont
 34. P be denied
9. 1. Q 2 *inserts far before* surpassing Q 2 argument 2. P Credulous
 Q 2 sith our 5. P This muche 7. P the names 8. LM opening of his
 9. Q 2 be more palpable 11. KLM no bodie will denie 13. M "*Imi-*
tating" *instead of* "*Imitation*" Q 2 in this word 14. Q 2 C *Mimesis*
 15. Q 2 FH—M *insert a colon after* forth E *inserts a comma* Q 2 EFH—
 M *comma instead of full stop after* Metaphorically 16. Q 2 severall *instead*
of generall 19. KLM *Solomon* LM in the *Ecclasiastes* 21. D besides
 22. Q 2 Franciscus Junius BD—M *Fr. Junius* 24. F—M *omit full*
 25. M where *Orpheus* 26. Q 2 P B—M Greekes 27. Q 2 P follow
 S. James his counsell BD—M *Saint Paules* 32. B—M with matter Q 2
inserts and before "*Cato*" 35. LM fault in this their Q 2 judgements E—M
omit & before not 37. M preposed 38. Q 2 P *omit free* 39. P
 KLM they be properly P *Gramarian* 40. M of which chiefly
10. 3. P onely theire faces being sett 5. C eies P thought *instead of*
 though 9. D these three 11, 12. P with learninge the devine 12. P
 and shalbe 14. Q 2 excellenst M excellent 15. F—M understanding
 M *omits of after* name 26. Q 2 P sorts of verses P *omits for* 30. Q 2
 sith there P *omits many* 37. Q 2 writ in
11. 1. I *omits it after* but 4. BD—M have chosen 7. B—M
 chanceable KLM poising each 12. B—M receive *instead of* obtaine
 15. P ymmediate 16. P it is directed 18. Q 2 P clayey lodgings
 D capable of this according 19. Q 2 P *insert the before* man P *omits*
 formed 21. Q 2 high and heavenly D as acquainted with 22. M other
 23. P to be devini godes of they 29. D of the experience 30. Q 2
 fall into P the *instead of a before* ditch 34. P the rest *instead of* these Q 2
 P *insert each after* have 36. Q 2 P Greekes called Q 2 *Architektonike*
 C *Architectonice* 37. G—M standeth 40. Q 2 but his farther
12. 1. KLM to have skill 3. H—M practice 4. P serves
 6. E—M wherein easily wee can 6, 7. Q 2 shewe the Poets noblenes, by
 setting him before his other Competitors P shewe wee the Poettes noblenes,
 by setting him before his others Competitors 7. Q 2 P whom as principall
 challengers 8. Q 2 P me thinketh 14. M *omits the before* foule
 22. Q 2 P contayneth it E—M containe it B—IM and by the specialities
 KL and by the the specialities 23. Q 2 P extendeth 24. G—M to
 government 26. Q 2 P giveth 27. M he is loaden D Mouser

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29. Q 2 FH—M foundation of Heare-say 30. D a do P theire parti-
alletey 31. D—M a thousand 32. P and itt better Q 2 P goeth
33. Q 2 P runneth 36. B—M vertuous actions 36, 37. Q 2 I am
Lux vita, Temporum magistra, Vita memorie, Nuncia vetustatis, &c. P I
am *Lux vite Temporum magistra: vita memorie Nuncia veritatis &c.*
M "*Tectis*" instead of "*Testis*"

13. 4. P Old age experience 6. P omits the before Lute 8. Q 2 con-
ferring storie by storie 11. Q 2 P maketh 13. Q 2 sith the question
14. D mediator instead of moderator 20. P omits all B—M he is ever
to be D accepted 21. P omits as far 24. Q 2 P Justice, and Justice
the chiefe Q 2 P seeketh 26. E—M right instead of righter 27. P
no Cure 30. P in the rancke 33. Q 2 P in that consideration
34. P deserve best 38. D with the thorny Q 2 argument

14. 1. LM finde a sufficient 7. D not instead of no after draweth
8. Q 2 fruitelesse doctrine but the list of "Faults escaped, &c." has "for fruit-
lesse, read fruitfull." 9. B performe 10. Q 2 P giveth Q 2 P in
instead of by after it 13. KLM power 16. M the other doth
18. P shapes 19. Q 2 Pallace, the Architecture FH—M palace in
Architecture 20. Q 2 P with instead of who 21. E—M omit had
before heard 22. Q 2 conceits 23. BD—M living instead of lively
24. P theis beastes Q 2 P or the house 25. P into a Judicall
27. Q 2 definition Q 2 P vertue Q 2 inserts a comma after vertue and
omits or 31. C nor figured 34. BD—M *Anchises* 36. E—M
Ithaca 37. KLM omit a before short Q 2 maddesse but the list of "Faults
escaped, &c." has "for maddesse, read madnes" 38. M bring your B—M
killing or whipping 39. P chieftaine 40. D *Menelus*

15. 3. HI valour KLM valor 4. P apparing shineing 5. P con-
trarely cary not the remorse 7. C in his *Atrous* 8. LM omit the before
sower 12. Q 2 seates layd G—M omit the before view 16. D of
instead of or before a whole 22. Q 2 Poesie instead of Poetrie 23. G
force in reaching 25. Q 2 obtained instead of attained 32. D as the
heavenly C omits the before gracious 33. DEFHKLM thorough
34. Q 2 Lazarus being in 40. E—M omit I before say

16. 3. P foode of the tenderest D the tender 4. KLM give's
6. Q 2 P E—M make instead of makes 7. Q 2 P these instead of those
8. D maging 9. KLM need Q 2 P bringeth 10. F—M omit and
before not C and nor 12. F—M determines 13. Q 2 C *Philosophoteron*
14. Q 2 C *Spoudaiteron* 15. After more Q 2 inserts studiously serious,
P inserts studiouse serious, F—M insert ingenuous 16. Q 2 C *Katholou*
17. Q 2 C *Kathekaston* 18. E—M is instead of in after either
20—23. P names and the particoler actt truly 20. Q 2 marke but the list
of "Faults escaped, &c." has "for marke, read mark's" D maketh G—M
markes 27. P question before yo^r owne 31. P as to Lady 34. Q 2
"Candida" but the list of "Faults escaped, &c." has "for Candida, read
Canidia" P writinge Ganidia 35. Q 2 was foule and ill favoured
37. I omits to after not GKLM omit semi colon after shunned 38. H—
M were the *Historian* 39. HI insert hee before cannot

17. 2. P omits owne 3. Q 2 FH—M *Quintus Curtius* 6. M he
should follow. 9. Q 2 transposes hath and it 11. P doth as farre
14. Q 2 Was G—M Was 17. Q 2 poetically 18. P omits example
19. Q 2 sith C may be turned 20. Q 2 a Poet and a Historian doe
21. Q 2 B—M do both 22. KL *Darius's* M *Dariu's* 23. P inserts

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to be *after* himselfe 26. HI valour KLM valor 28. D matters
 29. BCE—M fained such D faide such 30. D *Abtradatus* 32. P
 not so well 33. F—M fictions 34. D *Abtradatus* 37. D—GI
 warre stratagem HKLM warre-stratagem 40. Q 2 pleaseth

18. 2. Q 2 some, yet say I 5. Q 2 histories Q 2 is gotten 8. Q 2
 setteth 16. E—M manacled 17. Q 2 Historian *instead of* Historie
 18. LM world, as manie 20. P rott his fetters C *Phocious* DM
 Phocian 22. C *Severn*, live 23. P Marcus 24. I an happinesse
 26. F—M after a thousand sixe hundred yeares 28. P aforementioned
 29, 30. P want of want of learning 33. Q 2 P Occidendos B—M
Occidentes 35. EFGKL moe of EFH—M that sped 36. Q 2 P
 unjustice B—M of *instead of* or *before* usurpation 38. P *inserts of after*
 furnishing 39. Q 2 P deserveth

19. 1. Q 2 Poet M as Victorius 5. Q 2 P *insert* doth *before* teach
 6. Q 2 *Philophilosophos* C *Philosophos* 8. K teaching, it may LM
 teaching. It may 9. Q 2 nigh the cause and the effect P both a Cawse
 13, 14. LM *γνώσις* it is not 14. Q 2 C *Gnosis*, but *Praxis* Q 2 C
Praxis [end of line] 15. Q 2 cannot be P without moving IKL practice
 18. E—M and *instead of* as 19. C by-turnings 33. F—M *parenthesis*
before I 34. F—M *no parenthesis before* and Q 2 humane *but the list of*
 "Faults escaped, &c." has "for humane, read humane" 39. M that is
 full KLM *omit* that *before* taste

20. 11. Q 2 P of *Aloes* G—M *Rhubarbarum* 16. Q 2 P B—F valure
 GHILM valour K valor 22. P made into Poeticall 24. F—M God
 knows 28. P Who doth not Q 2 E—M Whom doe not Q 2 the
instead of those P theirs *instead of* those 29. M *Turnas* move
 30. BD—M *Usque adeone* 31. Q 2 *omits* think B—M (as they thinke)
 32. F—M so much they be 33. Q 2 Vertue 35. *See* List of Misprints,
 &c., which have been corrected

21. 1. FH—M *omit comma after* good Q 2 P seemeth 3. P eare
 himselfe 5. I will *instead of* shall 7. C *Memnius* DLFHI *Mene-*
mus but see List of Misprints, &c., which have been corrected 11. Q 2 P
omit either 14. P *transposes well and have* Q 2 P behaves 15. P
 telleth a tale to them 23. Q 2 ever *instead of* onely 33. Q 2 glasse to
 see 38. Q 2 ensueth 39. P to make an end of

22. 1, 2. C to wardes it, in the moste excellent worke-man 3. Q 2 P
 or *instead of* and *before* dispraise 4. Q 2 an high 5. E al together
 7. Q 2 find a blemish C Now his partes 8. P tearme it 10. P
inserts it before is 11. Q 2 like manner C *Sannazarius* 14. C *omits*
 perchance 17. KLM fault 20. Q 2 sometime 25. C consideration
 26. Q 2 contention 28. ILM strove 30. Q 2 *Thirsin* 31. D
 Or it is the L Or is the M Or is this the 32, 33. Q 2 P bewailes
 33. E *omits with before* the 36. Q 2 lamentation 38. Q 2 which rubs
 E—M *omit in before* making 40. P Satricks

23. 1. Q 2 until hee make 5. C bringeth to us F—M Who when
 6. F *Est salubris* P Si non deficit 8. Q 2 argument 8, 9. Q 2 P
transpose after and answer 17. P see in private 22. Q 2 I Comedian
 23. Q 2 learne evill 24. Q 2 sith 27. P lye so hidden behinde
 28. P himselfe daunce P measures 29. Q 2 P finde *instead of* see
 35. FH—M effects 37. I gilded 38. P sceptra *sœcuus* 40. P
 tyranny of *instead of* Tyrant

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24. 3. H murdered
P *omits* a *after* excellent
14. Q 2 KLM sometimes
sung GHJK yet is sung
in the manner
24. I valour KLM valor
28. Q 2 to bee the singers
32. Q 2 P *transpose* rather *and* matters
25. 2. Q 2 with it P with them
4. D move to truth I move a truth
the mistie 7. LM *Plato* or 9. D This men Q 2 P sets
M concurre 14. Q 2 PE—M kinde *instead of* Kindes 15. C each Idion
stirreth 21. Q 2 obeying the Gods 22. P *omits* onelie 24. D *omits*
colon after him P stormes, howe in fulnes, howe 25, 26. P peace, howe
victorious 29. Q 2 P minde not prejudiced 30. Q 2 P Yea, even as
Horace 31. C *Cantore* 36. Q 2 Sith 37. Q 2 P learning
39. Q 2 sith 40. Q 2 nor no barbarous Q 2 sith
26. 2. D in deede 3. Q 2 where as other 5. Q 2 Poet onely,
bringeth C *Poet* onelie, bringe the his owne 6. D out of the matter
7. P matter of a Conceite Q 2 Sith Q 2 *inserts* his *before* end 8. Q 2
E—M contayneth Q 2 sith 9, 10. Q 2 and to delight the learners: Sith
P and to delight learners, since 12. P for the enstructing of him is
13. Q 2 P leaves Q 2 Sith the holy 15. P did vouchsafe to 16. Q 2
Sith all C kinde F kindnes G—M kindnesses 17. M several *instead*
of severed D diffictions 18, 19. Q 2 tryumphing 19. C learning
20. I as well tongues 23. Q 2 may bee 25. Q 2 Mysomousoi C
Misomousoi P Poett whippers *instead of* Poet-haters 26. P all kinde of
31. Q 2 of very idle Q 2 sith there 34. P Jesters 36. Q 2 com-
moditie 38. G—M lies 39. EFH—M *comma instead of full stop after*
evill BD—M in the shewing
27. 4. C whose will 8. C in the true English 10. KLM *omit* that
after tearmed Q 2 LM humors *instead of* humorous D jesture LM jestures
12. M *puts the concluding parenthesis after* it LM as not *instead of* is not
15. Q 2 P as...judgeth *in parenthesis* Q 2 P *omit comma after* truely
19. Q 2 P considers 20. P by his most forcible quality 25—27. P
Thus muche is memory beinge 27. Q 2 treasurer 29. P *omits* the
after of 31. P affinity in memory Q 2 *inserts* word *after* one 32. Q 2
which accuseth 34. KLM betting *instead of* begetting 37. FGKLM
and instead of have before shewed
28. 1. Q 2 the words Q 2 P needeth 2. Q 2 P KLM *insert a before*
scholler 5, 6. Q 2 P *omit* as *Percontatorem...sumas* 6. E—M *sibi*
KL *palcet* CE—M *turba sumus* 18. B—M *Sirene* 19. Q 2 fancy
20. Q 2 P to erre 21. E—M *omit* in *before* ours 22. P weare so full
24. Q 2 *inserts* an *before* open 25. Q 2 out shot 26. D the *instead*
of his 31. Q 2 P Poetry 34. B—HKLM me thinke 36. P ow of
cache
29. 3. P Phisician 4. P C sicknes 5. P in potion K in a portion
7. Q 2 affirms 14. Q 2 P writes 15. Q 2 P EFH—M inspire into
19. D he lieth not unlesse wee 22. P his *instead of the before* tales Q 2
P thinks Q 2 writ 23. C were al wel worthie 25. P comyng to a
place D *omits a before* play 27. Q 2 at that childes age P to that childes
age 31. C histories Q 2 *omits* may 32. Q 2 looking for fiction

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33. HI ground-plot 34. D applied *instead of* replied 36. Q 2 P proves F—M *omit a before* falshood 37, 38. Q 2 *John a stile and John a noakes* 38. Q 2 P puts
30. 1. Q 2 E—M Chesse 5. P *Cirus or Aeneas* 7. E—M wits
9. F—M if not the onely P alledge 10. D apprehend *instead of* reprehend
17. Q 2 sith 19. P *omits* even 22. Q 2 P what soever they wil
23. P if the list Q 2 P possesseth P in any leaves 28. Q 2 *Eikastike* P KLM *εικαστική* C *ricastice* F *δικαστική* 29, 30. Q 2 *Phantastike* C *phantastice* 31. Q 2 P Painter, that shoulde 34. P *omits* his sonne D *Holofernus* 35. Q 2 G—M *Goliah*
31. 3. F—M doth much harme 4. Q 2 P conceiveth *instead of* receives
5. Q 2 P *insert* the *before* skill 7. C Doth knowledg 9. B—M go in the highest
15. Q 2 *inserts* the *before* fathers Q 2 say *instead of* said
18. Q 2 P hath set Q 2 *inserts* upon *before* imagination 19. P then written things
21. Q 2 Sith Q 2 *omits* not *after* hath 28. P *omits* taken 31. Q 2 P these *instead of* those 37. Q 2 *omits* it *after* handle Q 2 sith
32. 2. Q 2 of the Campos 3. G—M *insert* that *before* "Orlando"
5. KLM Coselet 8. D *omits* to Q 2 P E—M opposed 9, 10, 11. P learned men, receved theire first motions 14. D *omits* colon *after* not
18. Q 2 *transposes* was *and* ever 26. P a better 27. Q 2 P never wel sacrificed
28. Q 2 cried out upon all 29. Q 2 P being 80. yeeres
33. D his mustered 37. Q 2 their Sepulcher 38. Q 2 P *Cato*, his authoritie M being put against P but againe 40. Q 2 P now *Plato* his
33. 3. Q 2 with great reason: Sith 5. F—M reason 13. Q 2 P shops
16. P the founde 17. H—M that *instead of* for [*beginning of line*] G—M *Homers* Q 2 strove 21. Q 2 when *instead of* where 23. GHI *Hero* 26. P whoe shall doe C this *instead of* thus 29. C the discourse of the love of *Plutarch*
32. Q 2 P *Plato* did banish 34. Q 2 sith
37. C which breed them 38. BD—M Saint *instead of* S. Q 2 S. *Paule* himself, (who yett for the credite of Poets) alledgeth twice two Poets, and one of them by the name of a Prophet, setteth a watch-word P who yett for the Credit of Poettes, twice citeth Poettes and one of them by the name of theire Prophet setteth a watche P *adds in margin* Acts: 17 To Titus: i
34. 1. C *omits* worlde with 4. F by said 8. Q 2 P by the Poets
13. Q 2 sith 16. Q 2 conster BD—M construe 18. B—M "*insipidi*" *instead of* "*hispidi*" LM *abut* M *velit* 18, 19. Q 2 "*Poetas republica*" but the list of "Faults escaped, &c." has "betweene *Poetas*, and *republica* put in *it*" D *Poetas Republica* 22. Q 2 P by the then esteemed
24, 25. E—M commendations 25. Q 2 to Poetrie 26. Q 2 P honor unto it 27. F—M *omit* much 28. Q 2 sith 28, 29. P shewe and make an Asselike 29. C brawling *instead of* braying 31, 32. P shall have to finde in 32. D his *instead of* in *before* admiration Q 2 sith
34. LM above a mans wit 36. P Judgment 38. G favourets of
39. BD—G *Heautontimeroumenon* I—M *Heautontimoroumenon*
35. 5. Q 2 P need 10. EF *transpose* list and not Q 2 her *instead of* his P underlyninge 11. D *Historiographer* Q 2 suffice, that it is a fit
12. L what sprais M what prais P D may be sett 13. E—M 'commendations' 14. Q 2 sith 20. Q 2 engarland our Poets D which humour of being In P a later hand has *inserted* wher above the line *before* as
22. Q 2 to be had in P to be in 23. Q 2 ill-favouring P B—F ill

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favored 24. Q 2 But sith 29. P omits all after passe Q 2 P other
Q 2 sith Q 2 P proceedeth 33. Q 2 P G—M thousand

36. 5. KLM *Poesie* 7. P welcome into Englande 8. Q 2 lament-
eth P lamented Q 2 P decketh 13. Q 2 DEFH—M *conma instead of*
full stop after "Poets" 17. F—M *omit of before "Vulcan"* Q 2 PE—M
serves 24. Q 2 so these, no more 28. Q 2 PB—M *voste instead of*
passe 31. Q 2 out-flowing 33. I dignity, and admitter

37. 2. B—M how they do especially looke 3. M into it 7. Q 2
sith Q 2 P hath *instead of* have 9. Q 2 M unto it Q 2 is it an
old P I it is an 10. F—M *omit I after* confesse 13. Q 2 P BD—M
wings 14. K aer of LM ear of 23. F—M although *instead of* though
I wrongfully 23, 24. BD—M *print "Quicquid...erit" as a separate line*
Q 2 "*conabor discere*" but the list of "Faults escaped, &c." has "for conabor,
read conabar, and for discere, read dicere." F canabor LM conabar
24. KLM erat Q 2 an assured 29. Q 2 walke so 30. Q 2 reverent
antiquity 32. I tasted of 36. Q 2 sith 37. HI *omit nor before*
"Sanaxara" M Zonara 38. DM effect Q 2 doe I not P doe not I

38. 2—4. P another withoutt masse of wordes 4. HI tinkling
5. Q 2 P B—M reason 7. Q 2 nor of skilfull 11, 12. P so obtayne the
circumstances 13. Q 2 greeveth 16. LM present 18, 19. P but
one daye: But if it be soe 18. G—M there are both 19. Q 2 BD—M
insert many before places 20. LM Corboduck 22. Q 2 cometh
24. E—M *transpose you and* shall 27. Q 2 P place, and then
30. P omits in [end of line] 35. Q 2 P falls 36. DE in 2

39. 1. E of 2 dayes 3. F—M although *Plautus* 4. Q 2 hath in
Q 2 P hit with him 6. Q 2 P containeth 9. P either to frame a quite
10, 11. KLM the Historie to bee shewed: if they 16. P to reaccompt
20. P wilbe expressed 22. Q 2 B—EH—M *Polimnestor* P Polimnestor
FG *Polimnestor* 23. BD—M hearing of the 25. M murdered
25, 26. P taken upp, by Hecuba 29. F—M should one saile 30. P
number 31, 32. Q 2 body, leaving the rest to P body: The rest to be
told 32. Q 2 P This need 37. Q 2 in Clownes by

40. 1. P but is a thinge 7. P part of *Tragedy* 14. KL cometh it
not of light 16. B—M *omit* rather 21. P Laughinge *instead of*
Laughter 27. Q 2 P friends, or Country 29. B—M *transpose* laugh
and sometimes 31. Q 2 yet he cannot 33. P Yett deeme I not
36. P painted with a greate LM painted in his great 37. L attrie
LM spinning as at 38. Q 2 P breedeth 39. Q 2 P procureth

41. 2. Q 2 as stirreth Q 2 but mixt with 8. Q 2 Begger, or a
9. G because we 11. Q 2 sith 12, 13. Q 2 Courtier: a hartles
14. Q 2 A awry-transformed 16, 17. PLM the other Tragedies
19. G because they are excellling PHI excellent *instead of* excellling
20. I pitifull *instead of* pittifully 23. Q 2 F—M Other sorts 25. P
and with what 26. Q 2 P fruite 34. I had often read 36. Q 2 a
man which P tould my father that 39. D by the same BCD *Euerigia*
[see List of Misprints, &c., which have been corrected] 40. Q 2 B—M
parenthesis after it

42. 2. HI which in words 3. Q 2 PE—M *omit it before* that D the
instead of that 6. Q 2 P that may seeme F—M most *instead of* must
11. P not a large 13. P could wishe itt if att 14. P omits the reach of
19. B—M served at the table 21. I but they thrust 24. Q 2 used

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Q 2 P that figure Q 2 *Vivit, vivit?* P LM *Vivit et vivit*: 28. Q 2 men doe in choller naturally 29. Q 2 sometime 30. Q 2 were to too much choller 30—39. Q 2 *omits* How well...of their finnesse 31. P steare *instead of* store 32. E—M would not invoke P Demosthenes his sowle 34. KLM should prove 35. P thowghe he be accompted

43. 1. Q 2 that they come 15. Q 2 tracks *instead of* knacks 17. Q 2 P and so be noted 18. Q 2 P then to speake truly 19. F *omits* I before have Q 2 P smally learned 20. F—M possessors of learning 21. C no more cause 22. H—M practice 23. F he knew 24. P *omits*: where the other using art to shew art Q 2 P I.M not to hide 27. LM both hath 28. D considerations 34. P use of matter 35. LM gives 39. Q 2 wanteth 40. F—M but needs it not Q 2 of it *instead of* in it

44. 1. D difference 5. Q 2 P conceits 6. KLM it is particularly 13. P regarde with the Accent 14. D those *instead of* these 15. Q 2 the most excellent 16. Q 2 tune *instead of* time 18. Q 2 low and lofty 20. Q 2 P obtaines 22. Q 2 any other vulgar 24. LM must never be 31. Q 2 P for the ryme 33. C The *instead of* That 36. F—M *omit* it after put 39. Q 2 P the Italians terme 39, 40. LM *Sarucciola*

45. 1. H—M on the other side 2. I.M *Sarucciola* 5. Q 2 but that I finde already the Q 2 P triflingnes 6. Q 2 sith 8. P to be noble name Q 2 sith 10. P fault the Poet: Apes 11. Q 2: sith lastly KLM more fit P and not to be 29. F—M proceeds out of 31. HI names 36. P *omits* doing 39. Q 2 *Cataphract* P *Cataphract altered* to Cataract P heare of the

46. 1. E—M skies 2. KLM by certain 3. P to be Momus 5. KLM *Burbonax* 6. Q 2 *inserts* it before is 8. D and ever get LM of Sonnet

A Discourse on Irish Affairs

The text printed is from a MS in Sir Phillip Sidney's handwriting (Br. Mus., Cotton MSS., Titus B. XII, f^o 564 & 565). It is thus endorsed in another hand:

Mr Phi. Sidneyes [dis]course touching the [] in Ireland.

This "Discourse" was probably written in 1577 (cf. Collins, Letters and Memorials of State, I, 228: Waterhows to Sir Henry Sidney, September 30, 1577).

48. 27. [the] *paper gone* 31. [raise] *paper gone*

49. 3. See List of Misprints, Errors, &c., which have been corrected

51. A Discourse of Syr Ph. S. to the Queenes Majesty, &c.

The text printed is from a MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Colbert V^c 466, f^o 89). Numerous copies and summaries of this letter are still extant in MS:

Br. Mus., Harl. 1323, f^o 44
Harl. 6845, f^o 199 [*imperfect*]
Harl. 444, f^o 2
Lansd. 94, art. 26 [*abstract*]
Hargrave 226, f^o 271
Sloane 24
Add. 33271, f^o 32

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Inner Temple, Petyt MSS, N° 538, vol. 51, f° 110
Oxford, Ashmole 800

Rawlinson B. 151. N° 3 [*abstract*]

Douce 46

Cambridge, Univ. Library, Kk. 1. 3.

Dublin, Trinity College, N° 588

Ibid. N° 732

Ibid. N° 802, Art. 1

Northumberland MS at Alnwick Castle, North., f° 55 [*little is left of the MS, which has been damaged by fire*].

Copies of this letter are also to be found among the MSS of Lord of Tabley, Tabley House, Cheshire; M. Wilson, Esq., Eshton Hall, Co. York; Lord Mostyn, Mostyn Hall; Sir Alexander Acland Hood, Bart., Saint Awdries, Co. Somerset; G. H. Finch, Esq., Burleigh on the Hill, Co. Rutland. Another copy, in a rather modern handwriting, is preserved among the Penshurst Papers.

This letter was published, apparently for the first time in Scrinia Cæciliana or Supplement of the Cabala, 1663, p. 201; it was also printed by Collins (Letters and Memorials of State, MDCCXLVI, 1, p. 287). A full collation of the variants in the manuscripts and printed texts would prove uninteresting, as a considerable number of these variants are comparatively insignificant and some of them indeed so obviously wrong as hardly to be explained otherwise than as copyists' errors; consequently the differences are only recorded when they present some point of special interest.

I am indebted to Miss A. F. Patton for kindly collating for me the Dublin manuscripts.

The variants of the Northumberland MS are taken from the facsimile published by Mr F. J. Burgoyne (Northumberland manuscripts, &c. 1904).

Harl. 1323 has the following title:

The Coppye off a Lrē wrytten by Sir Phillipp Sydnye to Queene Elizabeth, touchinge hir Marryage, with Mounsieur.

Add. 33271 has no title, but the word Advice is written in the margin. Rawlinson B. 151. N° 3 has the following title:

The effect of a discourse directed and delivered to Queen Elizabeth about her marriage with Monsieur: A° 1581. by Sir Philip Sidney.

Trinity College, Dublin, N° 588 & N° 732 have the same title as Harl. 1323; N° 802 has:

A Letter written by Sir Phillipp Sidney unto Queene Elizabeth touching hir Marriage with Monsieur.

51. 5. Rawl. seeke for Douce sett out 5, 6. Rawl. were in stede of acknowledgment to arme a fault with reasons: and might Douce owne instead of arme 6. Dubl. 732 Inner Temple acknowledgment instead of acknowledging Ashmole which reason 7. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Collins anie waie Rawl. lessen instead of diminish 8. Harl. 1323 whoe is able Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Collins whoe being able Northumb. which is able Ashmole judgment of them who are able Rawl. who are able (if any) to dive into 9. Add. were wayne for to hoape by Inner Temple laying better Rawl. on of better 11, 12. Ashmole at their feete 12. Harl. 444 feete, for attentōn Rawl. for acceptance or 13. Inner Temple the ever vowed sacrifice of my Rawl. vowed service of love and humble indevours 16. Harl. 444 importunate matter Northumb. mightie matter Rawl. im-

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portant (I say) because importing 17. Inner Temple saftie (as I beleewe)
the good & welfare of your Kingdome, & (as I knowe) Ashmole Cambr. of
my selfe and life 18. Harl. 1323 Sl. wordes, I confesse, are shallowe
Add. (I confesse) shall owe Inner Temple I doe confesse are but shallow
Rawl. (shallow I confesse, but 19. Inner Temple of my ever
Dubl. 802 wordes bee, I confesse shallowe Northumb. wordes (shallow I
must needes confesse) but Inner Temple Ashmole but yet comeing Harl.
1323 Harl. 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Collins
deepe *instead of* cleere Rawl. *omits* cleere 20. Rawl. general scope of 21. Harl. 1323
most Ashmole of loyall thoughts, therein. I will Harl. 444 thoughc therein I will Inner Temple
thoughts, wherein I will Ashmole though therin Rawl. thoughts in this
affaire of Monsieurs mariage with your Majesty Northumb. thoughtes therin,
I will Collins thoughtes therein; I will 22, 23. Harl. 1323 Hargr. Dubl.
588, 732, 802 Northumb. thinke the Marryage of Mounseur, to bee unprofit-
able Harl. 444 Mounseir wilbe unprofitable unto yow Inner Temple the
intended marriage with Monsier will be Rawl. think the same to be
23. Inner Temple *inserts* both in estate & person *after* you 24. Rawl.
which send you (for satisfaction) to so miserable a remedy [*margin-note.*] "or,
which send you (for answere) to so doubtful an oracle" 25. Harl. 1323,
444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 that will come
Rawl. that may come this choise *instead of* it 27. Add. added beinge
Ashmole your being Rawl. you being Cambr. added, and for your person
how can it bee bettered; but as they say 28. Add. as the Irishmen
Rawl. and here, as the Irish 29. Collins to call over them that die
Inner Temple Northumb. that dye that they Cambr. that daie they are
Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732,
802 Northumb. Collins fayer Inner Temple faire & welbeloved 30, 30.
Rawl. you were rich, you were faire, strong, & happy, and what sholde make
you dye Collins what needed they to dye so cruelly Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr.
Sl. Ashmole Dubl. 588, 802 Northumb. neede they dye 31. Harl. 1323,
444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Ashmole Rawl. Cambr. Dubl. 588,
732, 802 Northumb. Collins *omit* (though...desertes) 32, 33. Rawl. you
in a Realme, so full of riches & honour, to change course, what makes you to
so healthful a body to accommodate so deadly a medicine 33. Harl. 1323
Sl. Ashmole Dubl. 588 applye such a very medicine Harl. 444 Lansd. Add. Dubl. 732, 802 so unsavory a Cambr. so violent a
Northumb. so needelesse a Ashmole hopes Dubl. 802 Collins *omit* hope
33, 34. Hargr. can adventure 34. Rawl. adventure of this beautiful state?
Hazardous 34, 35. Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Add. Dubl. 732 indeed were it
for noethinge butt Harl. 444 Collins adventure, indeed were it but Dubl.
802 adventure, indeed were it not butt Inner Temple were it for nothing els
but Rawl. were it but for the altering

52. 1. Inner Temple approved gouvernement in your Commonwealth, for
Rawl. and right well approved regiment 3. Rawl. only earthly head
5. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Ashmole Rawl. Douce Cambr. Dubl.
588, 732, 802 Collins nature Harl. 444 Collins *omit* Agent & Collins is
instead of are Inner Temple unfitly 7. Harl. 1323 Sl. Add. Douce
Dubl. 588, 732, 802 designes Harl. 444 dissigne Hargr. dessein Inner
Temple assignes Ashmole Cambr. discente Northumb. followers Rawl.
Monsieur. Outward 8. Inner Temple doe so much Ashmole doe
greatly prevaile Rawl. do not much Inner Temple true mynd & inward
9—15. Rawl. but when some strengths within are false to their own body

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that body must nedes be in danger, being betrayed by that which shold strengthen it against all foraine hostilities. Your inwards are your Subjects, in whom (as you have often said) consisteth your best treasure, the sinew of your estate. But these are divided into two maine factions, both binding upon the knot of religion. To one of these your happie & pure government 9. Inner Temple subject *instead of* subvert 10. Northumb. hurt *instead of* thrust at 13. Dubl. 732 wordly defence 14. Inner Temple factions and those tyed with the factions bonds of the never ending Northumb. never looseable Collins never dying 15. Inner Temple Religion would not be altered from their present condicion especially if it should prove from the better to the worse. For the one of the factions is of them Collins *omits* is *after* one 16—19. Rawl. exercise of the true religion: and those by the course of times (as now they are), by their multitudes and numbers, by the greate offices they hold, and strengths they are of, and by your honorable proceedings against the adverse part at home, & in other hands 17. Cambr. continuance of the whole or greate multitude 18. Inner Temple *omits* & strenghtes 20. Collins entrapped *instead of* inwrapped 21. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Douce Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Collins pull *instead of* put Lansd. yow cannot pull 22. Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Inner Temple Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 a Cause once taken in hand Ashmole Cause Add. Case Collins taken in Hand 23. Harl. 1323 Add. Inner Temple Cambr. daungerous 23, 24. Ashmole be shaken & beaten Cambr. beaten upon with the waves 31. Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Add. Dubl. 588, 732 finde further daungers, or Harl. 444 furdur dealinges Dubl. 802 Collins further dealinges Inner Temple danger or expresse better painted Ashmole for the daungers and *omits* or *before* painted Douce fynd a hope from danger or Nort. umb. find evasion of daunger by painted 32. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732 Collins well *instead of* will 33. Ashmole the very Cambr. verie Jesabell of our time Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732 Collins Brother...his owne Dubl. 802 Brother made an oblacion of his Ashmole bretheren Northumb. he is the brother of him that made...his owne 34. Collins of our Brethren in Belief

53. 2. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732 Northumb. Papistes men, whose Dubl. 802 Papistes, Men 3. Douce *omits* some...damnable Harl. 444 being infected to others they Dubl. 802 being infected, others they Collins being infested by others, whom they Inner Temple to such oathes as they Ashmole forced oathes Cambr. enforced to others Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Add. Dubl. 588, 732 accompted Inner Temple most damnable 5. Inner Temple disgrace for their misdemeanors and some 5, 6. Cambr. advancement, some practizers 6. Add. Dubl. 732 you are an Inner Temple many of them thinking you are an Cambr. thinking upon an 7. Harl. 444 the light Inner Temple *inserts* was *after* had Ashmole thinke your right Cambr. to be disanulled Northumb. judging you rightfullie disabled by the 8. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Collins all burthened, with the weight of their [Cambr. *has* with the burdenouse wayght] Inner Temple all of them being burthened Ashmole Douce all greved with the burdenous waight 9. Inner Temple number, of great kindreds, of Dubl. 588 *omits* of great number Cambr. offices *instead of* affaires . 12—14. Cambr. persons, such as are resolved what they are to looke for at their handes, such as wante or disgrace keepe the lower then you have set ther hartes, such as Cæsar 13. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl.

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Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 then they have sett their hartes
 15. Collins are of his mind 18. Ashmole bravest sorte 19. Northumb.
 double race 23. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Ashmole Douce
 Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Collins *full stop after* deliberate Inner Temple
 deliberate on this matter, but 24. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Collins neede not
 but 30. Cambr. shew directe vassalage unto him 32. Harl. 1323
omits comma after mindes Inner Temple myndes libertie to stoope to stranger
 Cambr. myndes to stranger 34. Harl. 444 their effectes Cambr. their
 mindes weakened 36—55. 29. Ashmole *omits* Now for the...helpe
 Cambr. *omits* to a greater siknes. Now for...helpe. Now resteth

54. 1. Collins inconstant Temper 2. Northumb. his *instead of* he
 10. Ashmole such families and such favorites 18. *the word* members
has been crossed out and limmes *substituted* Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl.
 Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb. humours *instead of* lummes
 20. Cambr. such as wer wonted to strive without pray or pay Ashmole used
 to fight 22. Cambr. in such calle

55. 1, 2. Harl. 6845 Collins unfaithfullnes *instead of* unhealthfulnes
 8. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Royalltie then yours to 8, 9. Northumb. to con-
 tent him with or 11. Harl. 444 meere *instead of* more Harl. 1323, 6845,
 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Ashmole Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802
 Collins disunyteinge *instead of* discontentment 16. *the word* must *has been*
crossed out before confesse 26. Harl. 444 then hurtfull 26, 27. Cambr.
 of so great a burden which is most fortunate & glorious to be a Queene
 30. Cambr. haide them by some of good & sound judgment censured alone,
 in respect 31, 32. Northumb. feare of standing alone in respect feare of
 contempe 32. Harl. 6845 & in whome respect dought to be contynuyd
 Cambr. & in respect of home doings to be condemned Collins and in them
 from whom you should have Respect, doubt of Contempt Harl. 1323, 444
 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 in home respect, doubte
 of Contempt 35, 36. Northumb. buildings ever being most sure and dur-
 able which leaning on other remaine 36, 37. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Collins
 remaine from their owne foundation 38. Harl. 444 Cambr. deeme
instead of denyne 39. Ashmole Nascica *instead of* Masimissa Harl. 1323,
 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb.
 countermyne Ashmole Cambr. countermande Ashmole *omits* the enterprises
 of mighty

56. 2. Collins where surest Leagues are made 2, 3. Cambr. have
 never 4. Inner Temple vehement a force doth hearts *instead of* mindes
 6. Northumb. knott *instead of* bounde 17—19. Cambr. hee of the right
 french blood in his heate and manlike propertie to desire that all bee of
 18, 19. Inner Temple needs desire that manlike disposition to have all men
 Harl. 6845 Add. manlye 19. Harl. 6845, 444 Lansd. Add. Dubl. 802
 proportion *instead of* propertye Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Northumb. disposi-
 tion 20. Inner Temple contrary Religion Ashmole of that cuntry
 Cambr. of the contrie 22, 23. Ashmole then the same. He both
 23. Harl. 1323 should growe great Northumb. should waxe great Collins
 should not grow great Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner
 Temple Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732 fantasye 24. Ashmole
 Northumb. government *instead of* Governours Ashmole increasing *instead of*
of imbracing 25. Douce heart *instead of* head 26. Harl. 444 virtues
 taught that Inner Temple vertue is taught Harl. 6845 thought that yowe
 should 26, 27. Douce should hope; with a councell 30. Harl. 1323,

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6845, 444 Hargr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Collins Feare: hath as little shewe
 Sl. Feare: there is little Inner Temple And therefore Feare hath little
 Ashmole little a shewe Cambr. Feare as little 31. Add. or *instead of*
 of Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 appearance *instead*
 of cause Collins outward appearance, as Reason, to match 32. Inner
 Temple *omits* his brother *after* Alas 33. Harl. 6845 is affined Harl. 444
 Add. is afeard Cambr. feareth him Harl. 6845, 444 Add. Dubl. 802
 Collins *omit* of him 33, 34. Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add.
 Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 *transpose* neither...his falle *and* since the...
 his place 35. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 *insert* his *after* wilbe Collins *inserts*
 an 36. Harl. 1323, 6845 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Douce Dubl.
 588, 732, 802 Collins accessarye Ashmole Cambr. adversary Inner Temple
inserts or noe *before* you are *and puts comma after* noe Inner Temple and
 hee needs not feare Spaine for certanely 37. Harl. 444 Ashmole *omit* the
 King of Spaine 40. Collins the Bounds of France upon this State Inner
 Temple this

57. 1. Harl. 1323 Dubl. 588, 732 Countenance unto, unto any maye
 Harl. 6845 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple anye may Harl. 444 Dubl. 802
 unto or anie other maie Cambr. countenance to him, any eye Collins
 Countenance to, any other Way, may Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl.
 Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Collins bee seene *instead of* see
 2. Ashmole to build 3. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Inner Temple
 Ashmole Cambr. Dublin 588, 732, 802 Northumb. Collins fastnesse Douce
 safetie Ashmole *inserts* uppon *after* fastnesse 4. Harl. 1323, [?] 6845, 444
 Hargr. Sl. Inner Temple Ashmole Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb.
 Collins incydent *instead of* evident Add. coincident 4, 5. Douce a thing
 knowne (as yt is) without 5. Collins the Person Dubl. 802 with *instead*
of without Collins *omits* without Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add.
 Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb. Collins layeing
instead of tying Innei Temple laying *but inserts* tying *above the line*
 Cambr. in some Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Inner Temple Cambr. Dublin 588,
 732, 802 Iyve knottes Harl. 444 eight [?] tight knottes Add. unkindly
 knottes Ashmole such a knot Northumb. Gordian knottes Collins *omits*
 slight 6. Inner Temple *inserts* is of small esteeme for *after* subjectes
 7. Cambr. hard it out of their mouthes which have shewed all externall dearlie
 reverence Collins had heard it proceed Harl. 444 mouth of one I doe
 10. all *has been crossed out and your substituted before* Estate Estates *has been*
altered to Estate 12. Add. should enjoye 14. Harl. 444 Collins
 daunger of Contempt 15. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 tried *instead of* tyed
 Northumb. by twoo long discent of your roiall Collins minds rejoyce with
 19. Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Inner Temple Ashmole Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732
 to glosse yow Harl. 444 to blesse you Northumb. to ghesse you 20. *After*
therof Ashmole & Cambr. *insert* Now for [53. 36]...helpe [55. 29] Harl.
 1323, 6845 [*but omits* yow thincke] Hargr. Sl. Inner Temple Cambr. Dubl.
 588, 732, 802 *insert* As I take it, you imagine two naturall Causes thereof,
 and two effectes, yow thincke, you finde thereof Northumb. as I imagine
 you suppose to naturall causes thereof and two [MS defective] you think will
 followe therof Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588,
 732, 802 Northumb. Collins The naturall causes 21—24. Collins The
 Effects, as you term them, appear by cherishing some abominable Speeches,
 which some hellish Minds have 24. Ashmole liveth *instead of* raigneth
 26. Harl. 444 well doing 27. Collins useth men to 28. Collins
 cares *instead of* course Northumb. borne in the same 29. Add. Inner

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Temple knowe other Dublin 588 knewe 31. Ashmole that nature with
 evill increase 32. Harl. 6845 revives *instead of* ruineth Inner Temple
 renews 35. Cambr. life *instead of* minde Inner Temple *inserts on after*
 thinke Ashmole Dubl. 802 *insert of* Collins *inserts* there is 36. Ash-
 mole blisse *instead of* life Inner Temple but on that Ashmole Collins it
instead of that before then Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 then is there anie Dubl.
 588 Collins than that there is any Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add.
 Inner Temple Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 tediousnesse of
 soe Cambr. longe *instead of* frutefull Collins fruitfull of wgerment
 38. Collins lived *instead of* reigned Northumb. set *instead of* sancke
 58. 1. Inner Temple pay the dowble substedie and aydes 2. Harl. 444
 Dubl. 802 Collins as noe lesse Ashmole *omits* now 4. *Text has* shall
 well your Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Ashmole
 Douce Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb. Collins finde 4. 5. Cambr.
 raigne, and you as fermelie beloved of them as heat can wishe; As for uncer-
 taintie 6. Northumb. Collins *omit* I know where Harl. 1323, 444
 Hargr. Sl. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 well *instead of* where *after*
 know Cambr. whither 7. Harl. 1323 Cambr. Course *instead of* anker
 11. Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Ashmole Cambr.
 Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb. Collins cause *instead of* lawes Douce *as our*
text Harl. 6845 as they are Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Inner
 Temple Ashmole Cambr. Dublin 588, 732, 802 Northumb. proffitt *instead of*
 reason Add. proffittes Collins (as there are infinite) common Reason &
 Profit would 12. Add. cause *instead of* teach Ashmole the Jewell faste
 whereof bringeth us to feele I Cambr. lowse wherof forcing us to feele I know
 14. Ashmole Cambr. of *instead of* by 15. Inner Temple *omits* Sylla
 unto Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802
 Northumb. Citye *instead of* estate 16. Ashmole were wont & fall
 Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802
 Northumb. fall accordinge to the foolishe Breath Cambr. to the fall of
 manie Collins and fall, according to the Flourish and Breath of a many
 19. Cambr. bright *instead of* seare 26. Ashmole Neither is that lawe
 which was in the 29. Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner
 Temple Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dublin 588, 732, 802 Northumb. Collins
 hir losse was 31. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl.
 588, 732, 802 *omit* fatal Harl. 6845 our misfortune 33—35. Cambr.
 Majestie moughte in such a dangerouse case & extremitie securelie & worthelie
 looke to any after and *inserts* or the like *above* in such and disastrouse or *above*
 dangerouse 36. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 if his boate 37. Ashmole botome
instead of one Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Dubl. 588 carefullie *instead of* long
 Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Collins with his life Inner Temple like his life Ash-
 mole *omits* as before his Collins tending *instead of* tending 37, 38. Harl.
 1323 other. And yf they will not, onely Hargr. And yf they doe not Sl.
 Dubl. 588 And yf they doe it not. 38. Harl. 1323 good partes Harl. 444
 Dubl. 802 Collins livelie partes 40. Harl. 444 puff *instead of* prooffe
 59. 1. Collins Men *instead of* hartes Harl. 6845 Cambr. impoisoned
instead of impostumed 2, 3. Ashmole *omits* not to be evil spoken of
 4. Collins prevent or warrant; there being 7, 8. Inner Temple Judgment
 to be therein satisfied and to the world your most Harl. 444 World, and to
 your most Cambr. world through the most Collins world, to your most
 8. Harl. 1323 *omits* most through Europe Inner Temple fame spread
 throughout Europe Ashmole fame therof 12. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr.
 Sl. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb. mais ils parlient bien Harl. 6845 mais

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ils sonnte bien patient Lansd. Add. Inner Temple Collins mais ils patient bien 14. Collins what way they 19. Northumb. defiled with such a matter 21. Harl. 1323 Hargr. Sl. Dubl. 588 to villifye Harl. 6845, 444 Dubl. 802 to leave Add. to blemish 24. Harl. 6845 wylde mindes Dubl. 732 vilde myndes Inner Temple hearts *instead of* mindes 25. Harl. 444 little be hoped 25—27. Cambr. further, yet could litle be proved by them or anie the least cause of just jealousie confirmed. The only 27. & *has been crossed out and or substituted* Harl. 1323, 6845, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Inner Temple Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Northumb. Collins and in effect Ashmole Douce or in 30. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 begyning *instead of* bringing Collins be the trimming your self 31. Harl. 6845 by them 33. Collins him, bear that Face 35. Harl. 6845 *terminates here with* such then it is dangerous [*two or three words illegible*] 35—38. Harl. 444 Collins *transpose* Since then it is...harme *and* as because...doe harme

60. 3, 4. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Inner Temple Collins that, haveinge assayed this 7. Ashmole if you breake that 9. Harl. 444 that still stand to mayntaine Douce who will Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Collins course *instead of* cause 9, 10. Harl. 1323, 444 Hargr. Sl. Add. Ashmole Douce Cambr. Dubl. 588, 732, 802 Collins whoe, as longe, as they maye bee kept, from utter Inner Temple as long as they bee kept 12. Ashmole in name and Cambr. in title different in profession 13. Harl. 444 Dubl. 802 Collins sheild *instead of* steede Ashmole stand you in any great stede Cambr. wile stand you in anie steade 15. Ashmole Cambr. Northumb. ware it Hargr. Dubl. 732 *end here with* bore it. And thus humblye craveinge your Majesties &c. Inner Temple *has* bore it. And soe humbly craveing your Majesties graceous favour & pardon I rest Your most obedient and duetifull subject and servant Phillipp Sydney 17. Harl. 444 deale of it 18, 19. Harl. 444 *omits* lett...easy 21. Douce worthe *instead of* weighty 22. Ashmole held deare 24, 25. Collins *omits* the comfort...your people 25. Dubl. 802 *omits* the most progeni-tours 26. Add. memory *instead of* mirroir Harl. 444 Sl. Cambr. *have* Finis *after* posterity Cambr. *adds* God save our gracious Queen Elizabeth; and so indue her with his Grace, and touch her heart with the spirit of wise-dome, that herein shee erre not, but maie doe only that, that maie make most for his glorie, best for her owne solace & comfort, and the good & quiet of our Land Collins Your Majesties faythfull, humble, -and obedient Subject P. Sydney

61. Defence of the Earl of Leicester.

Two manuscripts of it are extant.

A. Penshurst MS. *This is a thin book of sixteen leaves. On the recto of the first folio, in a late hand, is the following inscription:*

Copy of Sir Philip Sidney's answer to Parsons' the Jesuit who attacked the character of his Uncle the Earl of Leicester.

On the verso, in the same hand:

The original Manuscript is written in a very legible hand but from the numerous interlineations was obviously the first Manuscript of this Tract from the pen of the Author. Whether it underwent a revision previous to its publication (if ever published) is not known. It would however be a curious circumstance could [*sic*] one of the printed Pamphlets be discovered (which the Editor has endeavoured but in vain to discover) as it would then appear what corrections took place previous to its going to the Press. The Manuscript is written on

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twelve sides and an half of large copy paper, the edges of which are now much decayed apparently the effect of damp and age. On the first blank page Mr Collins has affixed the following note. "Found in the Evidence Room at Penshurst." I judge this was published at the time when wrote but since being only a short Pamphlet is lost."

The recto of the second folio contains the title written in the same hand as the above notes :

The Answer of Sir Philip Sidney to a Book published by Father Parsons the Jesuit, intituled Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester.

The text, in an older hand, begins immediately after, each leaf being mounted. A few notes, most of them insignificant, are written on the verso of a certain number of folios.

According to Collins the original had the following indorsements :

"A Discourse in Defence { This is Sir P. Sidney's Brother's Handwriting,
"of the Earle of Leicester { viz. Robert Sidney, the 1st Earl of Leicester,
of the Name of Sidney.

"In my Uncles own Hand, { This is the Hand-writing of Robert, 2d E. of
"worthy to be better known { Leic. Son and Heir to the aforesaid Robert,
"to the World. { and Nephew to Sir P. Sidney."

(*Lett. and Mem. of State*, 1, p. 68.)

B. MS. Bibl. Nationale, Colbert V^c 466, f^o 111. *The title runs thus:*
Apologie par le feu renommé Chevalier Ph. Sidney pour le Comte de Leycester son oncle 1582.

The text printed is from A.

B shows the following variations :

4. defame 11. that instead of as 13. unfitly 19. cause did
22. omits it thereby instead of herebi 31, 32. rebellions; by name first
34. Q. Majesty and yet that this is their plott of late by some

62. 18. sheweth 20. no space between base and (if 27. person
instead of poison 33. nameles libeller

63. 6. of good name 14. all so upon 18. impudency 35. breadth
38. who may two talke

64. 2, 3. wringing some of Machiavelles axiomes very unlukely 6—8.
most bound & then to make himself 8. Certainly yow shot fair 11. any
indifferent 15. eventes instead of innocency 18. not instead of
wit 19. witt instead of idiot 34. ever partly 38. even he that
blamed

65. 1. grow instead of arise 5. lean [*query* learn?] or leav 9. rack
up 12. laboureth to evill 13. masters 16. judge him who in a
thing 21. slaunder 22. one lively 27—30. omits Now to the ..
born so but this sentence occurs l. 37, after evill word 27. had instead of
hath 29. that Jhon Duke 30. omits so •

66. 1, 2. gladd to sett forth 16. in England for continuance
25. Nevill that married 27. point of our law 31. that came
34. howses of

67. 4. of instead of from 5, 6. England heir in blood of inheritance a
Gray 13. and so one did use 15. right. But I will 32. of England
33. which of all Kings was 38—40. omits to his...receave his nobility

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68. 7. 4000 yeres 15. Nevills 16. 4000 yeares 18. any other I know
 21. pleasure so as think 26. great and not continued of old
 38. made a distinction

69. 4. Augustus Octavius 7, 8. dreames. One was 15. therfor even for honesty
 17. or though 18. falling *instead of* faln
 20. whether they came 22. *omits* mai 26. was not further
 26, 27. son of the yonger brother to the same 29. himself should have ben also
 30. being called Peers Dudley 36. This Peerce Edmond's father
 38, 39. and to the Duke in Sussex which after by confiscacion 39. the crown (the Duke sold)

70. 4. landes and monumentes and the persons 8. as for 15. done I will
 21. *A has the following note:*

The above paragraph is printed as Sir Philip Sidney gave it in its corrected state but the passage as it originally stood in the Manuscript ran thus.

"as for his uncharitable tryumphing upon the Calamities faln to that howse, "might well bee challenged in a wryter of whome any honesti wear to bee "expected but God forbid I shoold fynd fault with him for that since in all his "book there is scarce any one trewth els but that, but owr hows received such "an overthrowe and hath none els in England done so. I will not seeke to "wash awai that dishonour with other honorable teares, but I woold this "yland England wear not so full of those examples, and I think indeed this "wryter if he wear known might in conscience cleer his hows of any such "disgraces, if any such but thei lay to low in the myre to be so Thunder- "stricke."

22. touched that as any man 23, 24. truth may (if...thereof) streight
 28. *omits* in 36. were among us

71. 4. brought to see 10. in thy trothe *omits* be 12. So as within
 16. an evill wayed shelm 17. place whether 18, 19. Queenes may
 20. that this life I 22. I write I doe sende 24. London who knoweth
 whispring 25. make no dainty of no 29. *omits the word* Finis

CORRESPONDENCE

75. I. *From* Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. Dom. Eliz., vol. 49, N^o 63. *The letter is endorsed in another hand:*

12. Martii. 1568.

Mr Philip Sidney to my M^r

20. *volunta crossed out after tibi*

II. *From* Br. Mus., Lansd. 11, N^o 77. *Endorsed in another hand:*

8 July 1569

Mr Philip Sidney

The following note has been added:

A letter of gratitude, wth a scholar of Oxford, for his favours to him & his Father

76. III. *From* Br. Mus., Lansd. 12, N^o 50. *Endorsed in another hand:*

Mr Philip Sidney to my M^r for Mr Thornton his reader.

77. IV. *The original of this letter could not be found among the Longleat Papers. This transcript, from the Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, Oct. 1878, I owe to the kindness of M. Ch. M. Garnier and Mr P. E. Herrick of London.*

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78. v. *From Zouch, Mem. of the Life & Writings of Sir Philip Sidney, 1808, p. 82, where this letter is given without any reference.*

vi. *From the Longleat MSS, Dudley Papers, vol. II. This letter was kindly transcribed for me by the Secretary of the Marquess of Bath.*

79. vii. *From Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg, Supellex Epistolica Uffenbachi et Wolfiorum, vol. L, f° 50^r [Copy].*

80. viii. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XIII, f° 17^r*

22. ubi *crossed out after* Decembris 25. ubi *altered to si after* posse

32. se *crossed out after* Saxoniam 33. unius *altered to uno after* ego

36. in *crossed out after* tempus

81. 2. scribis *altered to* scribas *after* corrigendo 10. excusar *crossed out after* Conisbeum purgarem *is written above the line* rem *crossed out after* purgarem ad te *written above the line* 13, 14. oportunum *written above the line* 18. scriba *crossed out after* scribas 20. scrito *written above the line* 22. velis *written above the line* 30. præcipue *written above the line* 38. Menkwits *crossed out before* non possum and Witfelde *written in the margin*

82. ix. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XIII, f° 22^r*

5. quò *crossed out after* habeo 14. tradidi *altered to* tradam *after* Camillo

16. commendes *altered to* commandes quod non rescribo *written above the line*

21, 22. *MS torn off and* Tuus Sidneus *written in another hand*

x. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XIII, f° 15^r*

83. 34. 18 kalendas...i.e. January 15th

84. xi. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. L, f° 37^v [Copy]*

85. xii. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XXVI, f° [303]*

27. in te *written above the line* 37. fuisse *written above the line*

86. 5. rebus *written above the line*

xiii. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. L, f° 45^v [Copy]*

87. xiv. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. L, f° 39^r [Copy]*

14, 15. vivam eris sanctius *sic in MS*

90. xv. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XXVI, f° 315^r*

91. ii. hoc *written above the line* 24. virtute *crossed out before* omnibus

30. valde a populo *altered to* valde populus 38. aut *written above the line*

92. xvi. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XIII, f° 18^r*

14. et loco scriptæ *written above the line*

93. 32. verbis *written above the line* This letter is endorsed in another hand:

Sydneus 74^o
de Italis Hispanis Germaniæ Principibus

Imaginem

94. xvii. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. L, f° 42^v [Copy]*

95. xviii. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. L, f° 48^r [Copy]*

97. xix. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XIII, f° 20^r*

98. xx. *From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba B. xi, f° 370/337. The MS*

has been damaged by fire.

100. xxi. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For. Eliz. vol. 132, N° 987.*

Endorsed in another hand:

17. December 1574
Mr Phillip Sidney to my [MS defective]

From Wien.

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102. XXII. *From Bibliothek des Herzogl. Hauses Gotha, cod. Goth. A. 404, f° 363^r*

103. XXIII. *From Stadtbibl., Hamb., Sup. Epist. vol. XLVIII, f° 192*

XXIV. *From the Penshurst Papers. Endorsed in another hand:*

Mr Phi: Sydney. 1x° december

per Smalman

Touchinge provision of corne at Otteford & hey for
his horses

104. XXV. *I owe this letter to the kindness of Mr Frank Sabin, of New Bond Street, whom I particularly thank for letting me have the use of a photograph.*

XXVI. *From the Penshurst Papers*

27. *have crossed out after sisters*

105. XXVII. *From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba B. xi, f° 387 [Copy]*

108. XXVIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For. Eliz., vol. 144, N° 1155. Endorsed in another hand:*

22. Mar. 1576

Mr. Phillip Sydney to my L. from Hidelbergh

109. XXIX. *From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba B. xi, f° 363*

112. 27. *agreate might be a greate*

113. 9. *but altered to and before fell* 21. *utterly crossed out after were*
24. *and crossed out after it*

114. xxx. *From II. Heppé, The Reformers of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1859, p. 169. The reference to this letter was given to me by Herr Lothar Erdmann.*

116. xxxi. *From Stadtbibliothek, Zurich, MS F 42, f° 248*

117. 30. *The following sentence has been crossed out after "satisfactum": Scripsi te bene nosse quid in Monarchiis fieri soleat quæ fama magis quæ vi stant. Nolunt alas addi iis qui nimium forsam amantur.*

118. xxxii. *From Br. Mus., Harl. MSS 6992, N° 42. The address is torn off. It has generally been supposed that this letter was written to the Earl of Leicester and I have conformed to this habit. I have, however, very strong doubts as to the correctness of such an identification. It is unlikely that Sir Philip should have openly spoken of Leicester's secret marriage and in none of his letters to Leicester does he conclude with the words:*

Yowr Lordeshippes humbly at comandemente

The recipient of the letter might just as well have been the Earl of Sussex who had married Sir Henry Sidney's sister and who as Lord Chamberlain had to do with Sidney's service at Court.

119. 4. *it written above the line after desyre*

xxxiii. *From Stadtbibliothek, Zürich, MS F 71, f° 178^r*

121. xxxiv. *From Stadtbibliothek, Zürich, MS F 61 f° 177*

122. xxxv. *From the Penshurst Papers*

123. xxxvi. *From Collins, Letters and Memorials of State, I, p. 389*

124. xxxvii. *From the Penshurst Papers. This is a copy in a modern hand. It has the following note:*

Ex origin apud Penshurst

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It is endorsed:

Mr Phillipe Sidney to me, browght 1578 by my L. Chauncellor and dated the last of May. Receaved the 21th of June

xxxviii. *Several copies of this letter are still extant:*

Br. Mus., Harl. 444, f^o 14^r

Ibid. 3638, f^o 100

Add. 4160, art. 39 [*Identical with Harl. 444*]

Oxford, Univ. Coll., E cl.ii, 6

Tanner, vol. 169, f^o 60b

Rawlinson, N^o 924, f^o 14

Cambridge, Univ. Libr., 950, Ee. ii. 32, f^o 99

Ibid. 1077, Ee. v. 23, f^o 438

Dublin, Trinity College, N^o 802, art. 2

Other transcripts of this letter are also to be found among the MSS of Lord de Tabley, at Tabley House, Cheshire; Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall; the Marquess of Bute, at Eccleston Square.

Harl. 444 Dublin have the following heading:

A Letter written by Sir Phillipp Sidney to a Brother of his touching the direccion of his travayle

Tanner *has*:

Sir Phillip Sidney letter to his brother Mr Robert Sydney nowe vicount Leisle

Rawlinson *has*:

A Letter written by Sir Philippe Sidney to his brother Robert Sidney (nowe Lord Lisle) showing what course was fittest for him to hold in his Travaile

Cambr. 950 *has*:

A Lrẽ wrytten by Sir Philipp Sidnye, to his Brother Roberte Sidnye, (nowe Lord Lisle) shewing what course was fitt ffor him to hould in his Traviles

18. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 1077 & 950 My good brother
 19. Harl. 3638 *omits* have before thought Rawl. Camb. 950 *omit* in me
 Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 *insert* that before I 20. Camb. 1077 *inserts*
 that after desired Harl. 3638 would *instead of* should Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner
 Rawl. Camb. 950 write to you Camb. 1077 write unto you 21. Harl.
 3638 Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 my opinion Camb. 1077 mine opinion
 Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 your Travell
 23. Harl. 3638 the experience Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert*
growes after experience 25. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner find how
 much I might have learned, & how much indeed Rawl. Camb. 950 find how
 much indeede I might have learned, & how much indeed Camb. 1077 how
 much I have learned; & how much indeed Dublin *omits* indeede before I have
 26. Camb. 1077 wanted *instead of* missed Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. want
 of directing my Camb. 1077 wante of direction of my 27. Camb. 1077
ende instead of meanes 30. Un. Coll. Oxf. Camb. 1077 *omit* good
 Un. Col. Oxf. *inserts of before* which Camb. 950 and to the which Rawl. to
written above the line before which Tanner doth or Rawl. Camb. 950 ought
 to doe and bend Harl. 3638 his small & greatest Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077
 his greatest and smallest Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 his smallest and greatest
 31. Camb. 1077 accion 33. Rawl. should travaille, or to say Harl. 3638
 Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 had *instead of* have 34. Harl.

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3638 you would prove Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 Dublin
 you should prove Camb. 950 noe Pilgrim Camb. 1077 to no *[blank]*
 Un. Col. Oxf. to no purpose 36. Harl. 3638 Tanner Camb. 950 but of a
 Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 but a certaine

125. 1. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 as other men Harl. 3638 Un. Col.
 Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 had done 5. Un. Col. Oxf. skines
instead of sonne, but a later hand has written skies above the line Camb. 1077
 skines 5, 6. Camb. 950 not the a wyse 6. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf.
 Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 noe nor in Camb. 1077 no nor of Harl. 3638
inserts the before learning 7. Harl. 3638 a good 8. Harl. 3638 Un.
 Col. Oxf. Tanner in that which all 8, 9. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb.
 1077 of us can have full 9. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 disguisement Un.
 Col. Oxf. your apparrell 10. Un. Col. Oxf. your Countenances 11. Un.
 Col. Oxf. upon outside Camb. 1077 the *instead of his before* outside Harl.
 3638 outsides 12. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 but with the Harl. 3638
 the *instead of your* Camb. 1077 selfe *instead of mynde* the *instead of* those
 13. Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. places, which you come unto 14. Harl. 3638
omits as before the one Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 as theire kinde Un. Col.
 Oxf. Rawl. thinke ere it be Camb. 1077 eare be longe 15. Un. Col. Oxf.
 Camb. 1077 no *instead of wee* Camb. 1077 mighte be made Harl. 3638
 made the sport Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 made the report Camb.
 950 made Reporte 16. Rawl. *inserts in before* Comedies Harl. 3638
 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 who rightlie travells
 17. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner most excellentest 18. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf.
 Tanner Camb. 1077 hard it is Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 unlesse *instead of*
 without 19. Camb. 950 knowe it, with 20. Camb. 1077 seeing of him
 21. Dubl. are Logitians knowe Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 that all greatnes
 22, 23. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. of it, as of mighty riches, and all other
 strength stands Camb. 950 of it, as of mightie Riches, and all other strengthes
 Camb. 1077 of it is of mighty riches; and all other strengths stand Harl. 3638
 riches, & all other strengths stand 23. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner
 Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 so that you 24. Camb. 1077 may doe
 24, 25. Harl. 3638 doe offensivelie or not offensivelie 25. Harl. 3638. Un.
 Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 through knowing 26. Harl. 3638 shee is matched
 28, 29. Harl. 3638 *omits* of thinges...in the knowledge 29. Un. Col. Oxf.
 Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 kind comes in 30. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner
 Camb. 1077 cosmographically *instead of* topografically Harl. 3638 discipline
instead of description 31. Un. Col. Oxf. and healp 32. Harl. 3638
omits or not 34. Harl. 3638 *inserts* are *after* People Rawl. warlike trained
 35. Camb. 1077 *omits* other such Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950
 & 1077 considerations *instead of* condicions 35, 36. Harl. 3638 come
 confusedlie to my 36. Un. Col. Oxf. come unto Harl. 3638 Un. Col.
 Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* hastilie *after* leasure Camb. 950
inserts them *after* sett 37. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl.
 Camb. 950 & 1077 they *instead of* those 38. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl.
 Camb. 1077 standes Un. Col. Oxf. with the ballancing Harl. 3638 *omits*
 of the *after* ballancing Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 with an other 39. Un.
 Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 1077 standes 40. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner
 Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 in *instead of* of *before* themselves

126. 1. Harl. 3638 eyther serves for Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 eyther
 serve for Camb. 1077 either serve for eyther a righte Un. Col. Oxf. serve
 either Harl. 3638 shaming *instead of* shuning Un. Col. Oxf. shining Tanner

NOTES

shyning *altered* to shuninge 2. Rawl. Camb. 1077 in this verse Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 "*multos*" instead of "*multorum*" 3. Rawl. Camb. 950 meane by *mores* Harl. 3638 *mores* whom to Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 *mores* to looke 4. Camb. 950 putt of our hatt 5. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 1077 heresie 6. Un. Col. Oxf. Italianes Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 is best in Italie 7. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 wherunto Rawl. Camb. 950 Dubl. whereout Un. Col. Oxf. *omits* soe *after* is 8. Un. Col. Oxf. called with certainties of truth, discerning Camb. 1077 called with certainties of true decering [*sic*] 9. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 1077 in vertue, passions Camb. 950 in vertues Harl. 3638 where *instead of* when 10. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 *transpose* (if I...deceived) and hee meanes Camb. 950 not to see 11. Camb. 950 marcke *instead of* marked Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 for surelie houses Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 are but houses 13. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 knowing theire Religion 14. Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *omit* their *before* children 15. Un. Col. Oxf. be the second 16. Camb. 1077 or surly 17. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 the greate Turke *instead of* Turkey Tanner Rawl. the Turke Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 with him 18. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 his *instead of* theire Harl. 3638 *omits* are *before* worthie Un. Col. Oxf. is worthy propter se to be Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 is *propter se* worthy 19. Un. Col. Oxf. *inserts* knowne and *before* learned Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* even *after* Nay 20. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 the *instead of* our 21. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 or power 22. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 advance *instead of* advantage Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner *omit* us *after* advance Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner nor hinder 23. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 these *instead of* those 24. Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 marked *instead of* observed Harl. 3638 which constraine Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 containeth Tanner containe Dubl. construe Camb. 1077 *omits* thinges 25. Camb. 950 former seeke to Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* howe *after* knowe Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 those *instead of* these 26. Harl. 3638 *inserts* are *after* riches Un. Col. Oxf. *omits* &c. Rawl. Camb. 950 et è contra *instead of* &c. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *omit* which *before* maie Un. Col. Oxf. bee available to us or Rawl. Camb. 950 be to us 27. Harl. 3638 fitting *instead of* fittest Rawl. both those Camb. 950 theis, you are Rawl. going unto Dubl. going to 28. Un. Col. Oxf. is most *omits* to marke 29. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 is *instead of* it *before* Spaine 30. Harl. 3638 all other Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 all others 31. Camb. 950 *omits* latter Un. Col. Oxf. considerations Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 as the others Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 Dubl. doe Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 950 & 1077 Dubl. *omit* it *before* in 32. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 1077 yet neither are Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 Dubl. void *instead of* verdict 33. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* excell *after* noteablie 34. Tanner *omits* yet *after* soe Un. Col. Oxf. that *instead of* it *after* in 35. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* may *before* have 36. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 meanes Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 *omit* from *before* thence 37. Un. Col. Oxf. in the time a *later hand* has *inserted* may be opened *above the line* *after* neede Harl. 3638 Rawl. Camb. 950 of the other side *instead of* likewise

NOTES

Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 on the other side Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 Dubl. as in France 38. Camb. 1077 *omits* both 39. Tanner inclynations Camb. 950 fittinge *instead* of fitt 40. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* in France after as

127. 1. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 the *instead* of their *before* Courtes Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 1077 Parliaments Un. Col. Oxf. *omits* their *before* subalterne Tanner Rawl. jurisdiction 2. Un. Col. Oxf. continually *instead* of continewall Harl. 3638 keeping of payd souldiers in Spayne their good & grave proceedings, their keeping so many Un. Col. Oxf. keeping of paid souldiers. In Spaine either good and grave proceedings either keeping soe many Tanner keeping of paid souldiers. In Spaine there good and grave proceedings their keepinge of many Rawl. keeping of paid souldiers In Spaine their good and grave proceeding their keeping soe many Camb. 950 keepinge of payed soldiers: In Spayne their good and grave proceedinge, their keepinge of Camb. 1077 keeping of paid souldiers: in Spaine their good and grave proceedings; there keepinge of 4. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 since they have Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. the most open Tanner conceiptes 5. Harl. 3638 matter to come off 8. Harl. 3638 marchandise *instead* of merchauntes Harl. 3638 their *instead* of the Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *omit* the 9. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 other *instead* of lower Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 Also *instead* of As *before* for 9, 10. Camb. 1077 or can knowe; to doe Dubl. *omits* or can have 10. Harl. 3638 wine 11. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* as *before* for Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *insert* the *before* other Harl. 3638 Princes *instead* of provinces Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 950 & 1077 point *instead* of provinces Tanner pointes Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 except *instead* of excepting 13. Un. Col. Oxf. of a quite Dubl. is but little 15. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 right *instead* of rule 16. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. *transpose* some *and* in deede Camb. 950 Although indeed there bee some of them 17. Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *transpose* to *and* soe Harl. 3638 Camb. 1077 learne amongst them Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 learne among them 18. Harl. 3638 else I doe Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *omit* doe 19. Camb. 1077 the tapster 19, 20. Un. Col. Oxf. Rawl. Camb. 1077 discorsers in certaine 21. Un. Col. Oxf. waiting *instead* of Vauting Harl. 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *omit* like after such Un. Col. Oxf. *omits* those *before* other Rawl. the *instead* of those Camb. 1077 any *instead* of those 22. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 countries: but for other matters as well (yf noe better) you shall have them in these nearer Rawl. Camb. 950 but for the other matters: as well, yf not better, you shall have them in those neerer 24. Camb. 950 Now ryseth 24, 25. Harl. 3638 Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 which indeed is the cheife to you of Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 which is indeede the cheife to you of 26. Harl. 3638 *omits* you are Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 direct *instead* of addict Un. Col. Oxf. your selves 27. Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 taste in 29. Harl. 3638 which hardlie will after out Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 which hardly will ever out Tanner Rawl. which hardly will ever after out Camb. 950 which will hardlye ever after out 31, 32. Un. Col. Oxf. Camb. 1077 *omit* I dare sware...desire to learne 31. Harl. 3638 mouth 32. Harl. 3638 Tanner Rawl. Camb. 950 Dubl.

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insert of before whome 33. Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner *omit to before much*
Camb. 1077 omits to much 35. Un. Col. Oxf. principall 37. Camb.
 950 *inserts with after either* Camb. 1077 *inserts by* 38. Harl. 3638 Tanner
 Rawl. Camb. 950 & 1077 *Dubl. expence instead of experience* 39. Harl.
 3638 Un. Col. Oxf. Tanner Camb. 1077 *omit this line* 40. Un. Col. Oxf.
 Tanner *omit signature*

128. XXXIX. *From Br. Mus., Add. 15891, f° 34^b [Copy]. The MS has the following title:*

A Booke of letters received by Sir Christopher Hatton Vicechamberlayne to the Quenes Majestie, from sundry parsons and procured by hym to be written in this same booke.

XL. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. Dom. Eliz. vol. 136, N° 74. Endorsed in another hand:*

25^o March 1580 Phillip Sidney

129. XLI. *From the Cottrell Dormer MSS, at Rousham. Endorsed in another hand:*

2^o Aug. 1580 Mr Ph. Sidney

130. XLII. *From the Penshurst Papers [Copy]. This letter has the following heading:*

Sir Philip Sydney to his Brother Robert Sydney who was after the first Earl of Leicester of that name

It is thus endorsed:

Sir Philip Sydney to Sir Robert Sydney his brother

My uncles letter to my father abroad in his travail

18 Oct. 1580

7. H. White *might be* N. White 31, 32. *blank in MS.*

132. 25, 26. *blank in MS.*

134. XLIII. *From the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. This letter was kindly transcribed for me by Miss B. da Costa Greene.*

XLIV. *From Br. Mus., Add. 12102, f° 1.*

19. 12 *might be* 10 or 17

XLV. *From John Gage, The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk, London, 1822, p. 182.*

135. XLVI. *From Collins, Letters and Memorials of State, 1, p. 293.*

XLVII. *From Br. Mus., Add. 15891, f° 64^a [Copy]. See above note to 128. XXXIX.*

136. XLVIII. *From the Hatfield MSS, 12/13. Endorsed in another hand:*

10 October 1581. Mr Philip Sidney to my L. His suite to his Majesty for 100^l in impropriations

137. XLIX. *From Br. Mus., Add. 15891, f° 64^b [Copy]. See note to 128. XXXIX.*

L. *From Br. Mus., Add. 15891, f° 63^a [Copy]. See note to 128. XXXIX.*

139. LI. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. Dom. Eliz. vol. 50, N° 85. Endorsed in another hand:*

17 Decemb. 1581
 From Mr P. Sydney

7. *this altered to the*

LII. *From Br. Mus., Add. 15891, f° 78^b [Copy]. See note to 128. XXXIX.*

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140. LIII. *From the Cottrell Dormer MSS, at Rousham. Endorsed in another hand:*

26^o Decemb. 1581

LIV. *From the Cottrell Dormer MSS, at Rousham. Endorsed in another hand:*

28^o Decemb. 1581 Mr Ph. Sidney

141. LV. *From the Penshurst Papers. Endorsed in another hand:*

Julie [158]2. 23 July

Received by the deliverie of Rob. Walker the xxvith of the same.

To be kept:

142. LVI. *From the Hatfield MSS, 12/94. Endorsed in another hand:*

14 Novemb. 1582 Mr Philip Sidney

7. *me written above the line before both*

LVII. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 6993, f^o 35. Endorsed in another hand:*

27 Janu. 1582 [scored through]

S^r Philip Sydney to the L. Treasurer.

To be joyned wth my L. of Warwick in y^e Office of y^e Ordenance.

The date and the words S^r Philip Sydney are in Burghley's hand.

143. LVIII. *From Br. Mus., Lansd. 39, N^o 29. Endorsed in another hand:*

S^r Ph: Sidney to my L.

His suite to be joined in patent with y^e E. of Warwick

144. LIX. *From a facsimile in The Autograph Portfolio, London, Richard Glynn, MDCCCXXXVII.*

LX. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. Dom. Eliz., vol. 169, N^o 13. Endorsed in another hand:*

6th Marche 1583

From S^r Phillippe Sydney

145. LXI. *From Bodl. Libr., Tanner 79, f^o 229. Endorsed:*

From S^r Philip Sidney to my Grandfather.

LXII. *From the Penshurst Papers.*

146. LXIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. Dom. Eliz., vol. 178, N^o 54. Endorsed in another hand:*

15. Maii 1585 Phil. Sydney.

8. *withall crossed out before for* 27. *belonging to the office written above the line*

LXIV. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. Dom. Eliz., vol. 178, N^o 58. Endorsed in another hand:*

1585 16 May S^r Phil. Sydney

147. LXV. *From the Hatfield MSS, 14/19. Endorsed in another hand:*

Nov. 10. Sir Ph. Sidney to Q. Eliz: P. about supplying her wth a Cypher.

This letter is not dated but it evidently belongs to the year 1585 when Sidney left England for the Netherlands.

16. *In the margin opposite shall deserv:*

5 A

365

LXVI. *From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba C. VIII, f^o 213.*

NOTES

148. 1, 2. *paper scratched and worn off.*

149. 1. *be crossed out before have*

150. LXVII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 5, f^o 102. Endorsed in another hand:*

23 Novemb^r 1585

From Sr Phillippe Sydneye in favo^r of certeine Burgesses of Flushing

LXVIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 5, f^o 118. Endorsed in another hand:*

27 Nov. 1585

Sr Phil. Sydney in favo^r of a man of Brile spoyled by english pyrates

LXIX. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 286, art. 46. Endorsed in another hand:*

Decemb. 1.

Sr Ph: Sydney

Hans Barnard.

151. LXX. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 285, art. 66. No date but evidently written in 1585.*

29. *haulf month crossed out after gildrenes* 35. *Yours altered to Your*

152. LXXI. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 5, f^o 168. Endorsed in another hand:*

x1 Decemb. 1585

Sr Philip Sidney to my L.

LXXII. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 285, art. 67. Endorsed in another hand:*

Decemb. 14. 1585

Sr Ph. Sydney

153. 3. *them altered to the before poor*

154. 19. *have crossed out before received* 20. *Brown crossed out after from*

155. LXXIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 5, f^o 208. Only the signature is in Sidney's hand. It is endorsed:*

14 Decemb^r 1585

From Sr Phillipp Sydney in favo^r of Mr Cromwell

LXXIV. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 5, f^o 214. It is not in Sidney's hand; he did but write Your humble Son and sign the letter. Endorsed in another hand:*

15 Decemb^r 1585

From Sr Phillipp Sydney in favo^r of mons^r Geelee

31. *blank in MS.*

156. LXXV. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 285, art. 69. The letter has no date, but was evidently written in 1585. It is endorsed in another hand:*

1585

Decemb. 16

Sr Ph. Sydney. M^r Edw. Norris

LXXVI. *From the Finch MSS, Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland. For a copy of this letter I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs S. C. Lomas of the Hist. MSS Com. Only the signature is in Sidney's handwriting. It is endorsed:*

1585 20 December

Sr Phillip Sidneis letter to Sr Moyle Finch

NOTES

157. LXXVII. From Br. Mus., Harl. 286, art. 47. *Endorsed in another hand:*

29 Januarie 1585
From Sr Phillippe Sydney
by Mr Arondell

LXXVIII. From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba C. IX, f^o 56. *Endorsed in another hand:*

2 Febr. 1585.
Sr. Phi. Sidney

27. Plate *crossed out after of and Somerdick written above the line*
33. without *crossed out after lyfe*

158. 1. have *crossed out after mai* 3. to *written above the line before demand*
15. I hope *written above the line* 16. God *crossed out after do it and if written above the line*

LXXIX. From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba C. IX, f^o 44. *Endorsed in another hand:*

2^o. Febr. 1585
Sr Phil. Sidney
moneye

159. 3. 2000 *altered to 200* 4. of *altered to that after them* 4, 5. and
...heerabout *written above the line* 100 *altered to 300* 12. one *crossed out after not*
13. not *crossed out after then* 20. Tutty and *written above the line*
21. if *crossed out after and* Russel *written above the line*
24. thei *altered to the enemy written above the line* 32. saved *written above the line*

160. LXXX. From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba C. XI, f^o 265. *Endorsed in another hand:*

12^o Febr. 1585
Sr Phil. Sidney [*MS defective*] Roteradam
Baron Greang

14. This *altered to The*

LXXXI. From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba C. IX, f^o 93. *Endorsed in another hand:*

19^o Febr. 1585
Sr Ph. Sidney.

33. Proger *might be Droger* 36. the *crossed out before commodity*

162. 6. and *written above the line before how* 16, 17. of them *written above the line*

LXXXII. From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba C. X, f^o 75. *Endorsed in another hand:*

24 February 1586
from Sir Ph. Sidney.

163. LXXXIII. From Br. Mus., Cotton MSS, Galba C. IX, f^o 101. *The address is torn off, but it was evidently written to Leicester.*

32. to *written above the line*

164. LXXXIV. From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 7, f^o 5. *Endorsed in another hand:*

3 Marche 1585
From Sr P. Sidney.

23—25. *not in Sidney's hand.*

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LXXXV. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 7. Endorsed in another hand:*

4th Marche 1585
From S^r Phillippe Sydney.
In favo^r of Jacques van den Wall

165. LXXXVI. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 7, f^o 75. Endorsed in another hand:*

18. Martii 1585
S^r Ph. Sydney by young Adams from Amsterdam
14. utterly written above the line

LXXXVII. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 285, art. 126.*
32. withall crossed out after nature

166. LXXXVIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 7, f^o 83. Endorsed in another hand:*

19 Marche 1586
From S^r Phillip Sydney
In favo^r of M^r Haibert Croftes.

LXXXIX. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 287, art. 1. Endorsed in another hand:*

24 March 1586
From S^r Ph. Sidney
25. want crossed out after shold 36. know crossed out after I

167. 36. letters crossed out after of

168. XC. *From the Archives of the States of Zealand, Middelburg. For the transcript of Letters XC, XCIII, XCIV and XCVI, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr K. Heeringa.*

The letter is endorsed: Recepta 25^a Aprilis 1586.

169. XCI. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 285, art. 99. Endorsed in another hand:*

14 April 86
From S^r Ph. Sidney 28 Eliz.
31. thereo crossed out after writtne 35. fur crossed out after not

170. XCII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 7, f^o 225. Endorsed in another hand:*

15 April 1586
From S^r Phillippe Sydney in favo^r of M^r Cæsar.

XCIII. *From the Archives of the States of Zealand, Middelburg. Only the concluding sentence Vostre &c... and the signature are in Sidney's hand. It is endorsed:*

Recepta 25^a Aprilis 1586

171. XCIV. *From the Archives of the States of Zealand, Middelburg. Only the signature is in Sidney's hand. It is endorsed:*

Recepta 26 Aprilis 1586

172. XCV. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 7, f^o 244. The ink is much faded and some words are illegible. Only the address, signature and postscript are in Sidney's hand. It is endorsed in another hand:*

29 April 1586
From S^r Phillippe Sydney to M^r Thomas Mylles

NOTES

173. XCVI. *From the Archives of the States of Zealand, Middelburg. Only the signature is in Sidney's hand.*

XCVII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 8, f^o 19. The ink is faded and the paper torn out, some words are illegible. It is endorsed in another hand:*

6th May 1586

From S^r Phillipp Sydney

174. XCVIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 8, f^o 40. Endorsed in another hand:*

10 May 1586

From S^r Phillippe Sydney

4. *proved written above the line after skill*

XCIX. *From the Hatfield MSS, 14/65. Endorsed in another hand:*

Ph. Sidney to the Master of Grey

May 17. 1586

175. C. *From Bodl. Libr., Tanner MSS, N^o 78, f^o 149. Endorsed in another hand:*

25 May 1586

From S^r Phillip Sydney

In favour of M^r Hurleston

176. CI. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 8, f^o 97. Endorsed in another hand:*

25 May 1586

From S^r Phillip Sydney

5. *this altered to the be crossed out after garrisons* 9, 10. *especialli of Flushing written above the line*

CII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 8, f^o 110. Only the concluding sentence Your &c.... and the signature are in Sidney's hand. It is endorsed in another hand:*

26 May 1586

From S^r Phillip Sydney

To have such serviceable horses as his father left sent unto him.

177. CIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 8, f^o 131. Only the concluding sentence Your &c.... and the signature are in Sidney's hand. It is endorsed in another hand:*

31 May 1586

From S^r Phillip Sydney

In favo^r of [blank in MS]

CIV. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 8, f^o 316. Endorsed in another hand:*

28 June 1586

From S^r Phillip Sidney

Recommendeth S^r Richard Diar to have the levieng of
500 men for the Low Contries

CV. *From Br. Mus., Harl. 285, art. 102. Endorsed in another hand:*

20 July 1586

S^r Ph. Sidney.

178. CVI. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 9, f^o 109. Endorsed in another hand:*

25 July 1586

From S^r Phillip Sydney

In favo^r of Mons^r Fremin

NOTES

CVII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 9, f° 217. Endorsed in another hand:*

14 August 1586

From Sr Phillippe Sydney to the LL.

For a supplie of ordenance and munition for the towne of Flushing

179. 20. 15th altered to 14th

CVIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 9, f° 221. Endorsed in another hand:*

XIIIIth August. 1586.

From Sr Phillip Sydney

The letter is not dated.

180. CIX. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 9, f° 219. Endorsed in another hand:*

XIIIIth August 1586.

From Sr Phillip Sydney

14. to pai written above the line after commanded 25. in this caws written above the line

181. CX. *From Br. Mus., Stowe MSS, 150, f° 50. The second sheet of this letter is to be found in the Pub. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 9, f° 225; it contains the address, in Sidney's hand:*

[To] the right honora[ble]

my singular good [Lord]

The Lord Treasurer [of England]

and the endorsement in another hand:

14 August 1586

Sr Phillip Sidney.

That Flushing and y^e Brill maie be supplied wth municon out of England.

Lett. to L. Treasurer Burghley

7. of written above the line after beeing

CXI. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 10, f° 28. Endorsed in another hand:*

10 Septemb^r 1586

Sr Phillip Sydney

A different hand has written below:

The L. Bourough

182. CXII. *From Burmannus (Petrus), Sylloges Epistolarum a viris illustribus Scriptarum. Leidix, 1727, vol. I, p. 277.*

CXIII. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 10, f° 50. Only the concluding sentence Your &c.... and the signature are in Sidney's hand. It is endorsed in another hand:*

22 Septemb^r 1586

From Sr Phillippe Sydney

In favo^r of Rychard Smythe

183. CXIV. *From Publ. Rec. Off., St. Pap. For., Holland, vol. 10. For date of this letter, see Gisbert Enerwitz's letter in Archaeologia, XXVIII, 34—36.*

NOTES

PSALMS

The MSS are as follows:

A. Penshurst Papers. It is a volume of 135 leaves, bound in calf; it has been rebacked. The first two folios are missing, the book beginning with Psalm IV; only the pages containing Sidney's part of the translation are numbered 1—79. The rest of the book has no pagination. At the end is the following inscription:
Finis

John Davies of the Citty
of Hereford hand-writer hereof.

The MS is beautifully written, with gold capitals and ornaments, &c. On the recto of the preliminary leaf is the following note in a late handwriting:

"Aubrey, in his Natural History of Wilts. MS. in the Library of the Royal Society, p. 240, speaking of the Library at Wilton, the seat of the Pembroke's, mentions as being preserved there, 'A translation of the whole Book of Psalmes in English verse by Sir Philip Sydney, *writt curiously*, & bound in crimson velvet and gilt: it is now lost.' There is every probability of this being the identical manuscript which was missing from Wilton in Aubrey's time, for though the original binding is not preserved, the description *writt curiously* so aptly applies to the present manuscript, which is entirely in the neat handwriting of John Davies, the celebrated writing master of Hereford, that it almost of itself establishes the identity of the volume, for it is unlikely that two copies of so large a work would be preserved to which the same description could be given."

On the verso, in another hand:

"Wylimot De Marisco
Banchor: Monach:
Aⁿ M^o. dccc^o. xlv^o."

"This Book contains the Psalter, translated by Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, The Countess of Pembroke, circa 1580. It is in the autograph of Davies of Hereford a Welch Poet of that day.

The first leaf is wanting, otherwise perfect.

Additions appear to have [] made to the original MS in handwriting of the same period, which additions have not the Capitals, &c. in gold. This MS was at Penshurst the Antient and Modern seat of the Sidneys, till a few years ago. Considering the careful way in which this MS has been written, and the great number of Additions made, it looks as if the Authors had made the said Additions for it would shew carelessness in the Copyist to write a MS which required so many corrections."

According to Grosart "The MS of John Davies passed from the Bright Sale to Penshurst" (*The Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Grosart, 1873, II, 202).

B. In Bodl. Libr., Rawlinson Poet. 25. Dr F. Madan, in *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library* (III, 228), describes this MS in the following terms:

"In English, on paper: written in 169½ by S. Woodford 11½ x 8½ in. vii + 157 leaves

(fol. 1) Sir Philip Sidney's and the Countess of Pembroke's translation of the Psalms, i—lxxxvii, cii—cxxx, copied out from an original MS, corrections and all, by Samuel Woodford in 169½. The following notes by Woodford are on fol. ii, 131v: The originall copy is by mee. Given me by my Brother

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M^r John Woodford who bought it among other broken books to putt up coffee powder, as I remember. But from this place [heading of Ps. cxxxi] to the end my Copy is defective, the leaves being torn off. Ita testor Sam: Woodforde who for S^r Philip Sidnys sake, & to preserve such a remaine of him undertook the tiresome task of transcribing, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$."

C. In Bodl. Libr., Rawlinson Poet. 24. The MS was formerly owned by W. Barkwith (xviiith cent.), it is a volume of iv+227 pages, dated, in the Bodleian Catalogue, circa 1620-30 (?).

The title-page reads:

The | Psalmes of David translated into divers & sundry | kindes of
verse, more rare, & excellent for the method & varietie | then ever yet
hath bene don in | English: begun by the | noble & learned gent. | S^r
P: Sidney K^t | & | finished by the R: honorable | the Countesse of Pem-
broke, his | Sister, & by her dirrection | & appointment.

D. Wadham College, Oxford, MS 25. On back of front cover has been pasted a slip of paper bearing the inscription:

Richard Warner

1738

Bought at the Auction of S^r
Joseph Jekyll's MSS &c. collected
by the late L^d Somers

On the preliminary leaf is mounted the following note, written in an earlier hand:

(The old Title)

A Translation of the Book | of Psalms | into English Verse | By the
most noble & Virtuous Gentleman | Sir Philip Sidney Knight | N.B. 16
Psalms are wanting | in this MS.

Then follow 21 folios which are blank. The text begins immediately after with Ps. xvii & ends with Ps. cl. It is well written in a xviith century hand and covers 64 folios.

E. Queen's College, Oxford, MS 341. This is a quarto volume, not very carefully written, in a xvith century hand. It opens with two blank folios, the text begins on the next one and has the following heading:

The Psalmes of David | done into English Verse | By y^e most noble &
vertuous | gent: S^r Phillip | Sydney Knight.

Then come 158 folios marked by figures on the top of each recto. The book ends with 18 blank folios, one of them being nearly torn off.

F. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O. 1. 51. It is a quarto volume, which begins with two blank folios. Then follows the title-page, which reads:

The | Psalms of David | Translated | into | English Verse | By | That
Noble and Virtuous Gent: | S^r Philip Sydney.

The verso of this folio is blank. The text occupies 167 folios very carefully written between red marginal lines, in a xvith century hand. The recto of the last folio is blank.

G. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R. 3. 16. The volume is numbered from 1 to 301, on the recto of each folio, 1, 3, 5, &c. The first leaf is blank, the second leaf contains the title:

The | Psalmes of David | metaphrased into sundry | kindes of verse | By
the noble & famous gent. | Sir Philip Sidney | Knight | Trin. Coll. Canb.
| Anno Dñi 1664

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Under the title is the inscription:

Ex dono Mgfi Lynnett. S.T.B.
hujus Collegii Socii.

The verso is blank. Then follows the text, written in a clear xviiith century hand; each page is surrounded by red ink lines and the initial letter of each Psalm has an ornamental design. The text ends on page 303 which bears the following note:

Finis. Sir Ph. Sydney, K^t

On the verso is written:

"I have perused this Metaphrase of the Psalmes by that Worthy, whose happy meditations may yield others content, and a precedent worthy imitation. Which I desire may be published in Print.

John Langley"

Under the signature, a line has been crossed out and is quite illegible. The book ends with two blank folios.

H. In Br. Mus., Add. MS 12048, owned by Butler, afterwards in Heber's Library. It is a volume of 148 folios. The title, written on f^o 2, reads:

The Psalmes of David | done into English Verse | By the moste noble
and | vertuous gentellman S^r | Phillipp Sidney | Knight

The text begins on f^o 3 (formerly f^o 1); it is written in a xviiith century hand; in several places, corrections have been made in different ink.

I. In Br. Mus., Add. MS 12047, from Bibliotheca Butleriana and sometime in the possession of Joseph Haslewood. It is thus described by the Br. Mus.:

"The Psalms of David, translated into English verse by Sir Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney, countess of Pembroke. The Psalms here translated are not in regular order, & only comprise those which follow 1—26, 51, 58, 68—71, 73, 74, 75 (two versions), 76—78, 80, 83—86, 88, 89 (two versions), 91, 96, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 108, 109, 111—113, 117, 120, 121, 122 (two versions), 123, 124, 126, 127, 129—134, 137, 138, 142, 143, 147—150. Paper xvith cent. supposed (but apparently on insufficient grounds) by the late possessor the Bishop of Lichfield, to have been transcribed by Sir John Harington. Small Quarto."

A later hand has divided these Psalms into "morning prayer" "Evening prayer" &c. for every day of the month.

Ed. 1823. The translation of the Psalms was printed for the first time in 1823 (*Early Engl. Poets*, viii, Chiswick Press) from the Davies MS; in the Preface it is stated that the text has been carefully collated with a MS in the possession of the Rev. Dr Cotton, of Christ Church, Oxford. The printed text gives Ps. i—iii which no longer exist in A, and has some readings, not to be found elsewhere.

Psalms 1—111 are missing in MS A. In this edition they have been printed from MS B.

Ps. i. St. i. 1. E y^t neither 3. I sinners altered to sinning ed. 1823 sinners 5. ed. 1823 his whole delight 6. F he ever calls to minde St. ii. 6. E prosper well with good succeeding H with good succeeding St. iii. 1—4. [margin note:] "In the margin is written 'these altered. Q. & both this staffe & y^t w^{ch} followes is crossed" 1. FGI & ed. 1823 blessing 2. EFH vilde I & ed. 1823 wild 5. EGH Nor yet ed. 1823 their place 6. I & ed. 1823 goodly St. iv. 2. EFHI & ed. 1823 proceedings

¶ Ps. 11. EH print the hexameters as two lines 1. E y^e Heathnish FI & ed. 1823 Heathen EFI & ed. 1823 this people 3. EFGI & ed. 1823

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meetings 7. FI & ed. 1823 bands 8. EFI & ed. 1823 yoke 9. ed. 1823 who 'bove the Heavens 10. I Hee shall laugh them to scorn *alterea* to Hee them shall laugh to scorn ed. 1823 He them shall laugh to scorn 11. after *underlined and margin-note as follows*: "twas bravely but y^t is blotted out." 15. EFH this king 18. to [margin-note:] "yt blotted out" I & ed. 1823 it 19. realme [margin-note:] "another word bl." 23. ed. 1823 wise, and rulers, rule 25. F & ed. 1823 him that fear 32. G be truely blest.

Ps. III. St. i. 6. FI & ed. 1823 strengths St. ii. 1. F they bee *which has been changed to* bee they *by a second hand* 2. E doth saye St. iii. 1. EH lifte up 3. E *omits* he after hill 5. While [margin-note:] "For bl." 6. from sleep [margin-note:] "*again* He bl." FI & ed. 1823 sleep he reard St. iv. 6. ed. 1823 my God my Father St. v. 2. CG jawbone 3. CEF' & ed. 1823 wrong 4. G And those 5. I *inserts* infect *above* venomd St. vi. 3. G For he alone defendeth I Hee is hee y^t *altered to* Hee hee tis y^t ed. 1823 He it is that

Ps. iv. St. i. 2. I O God O God 3. EII settles St. ii. 5. E doth lye St. iii. 2. F choose 5. F give care unto my GH will good care, give to my St. iv. 2. C dispose 3. G heart 4. *In* F you doe close *has been altered in different ink to* you inclose St. v. 1. C sacrifice G sacrificers, sacrifice H sacrifices sacrificize 3. BC the Lord G that hateth lies 4. BGI folk St. vi. 4. EG harvest 5. EGH fill St. vii. 3. G thou; (O Lord) it is 4. B owne [margin-note:] "*own* is added above the line by another hand." FI *omit* own 5. EGII safeties I safest rest

Ps. v. St. i. 1. G which I 2. I in thee 3. FI that calls 5. G voice come to F clime thyne 7. E entringe of 8. B wayting [margin note:] "wayling bl[otted]" St. ii. 2. F Of that which G that whereof fowle...doe smell 3. G Nor yet with thee 5. H all those works E *omits* are 6. BCE & ed. 1823 shall 7. C O *instead of the before* Lord St. iii. 4. FI of thine holynesse 6. C by my St. iv. 2. B Mischeif ther soules [margin-note:] "Their Soules fowl sinns but altered as here" I Mischeifs E in most lienge GH inmost leug 6. EH vilde thoughts EGH their thinkers St. v. 1. B on [margin note:] "in bl[otted]" FI trust in 4. EG Say ever thou 5. BCFI they *instead of* thou E thy BCEFHI blessed

Ps. vi. St. i. 3. BCEFI & ed. 1823 Nor *In* A the rage *has been altered to* thy rage and thy due to my due EG the rage 4. EH thie measure St. ii. 3. E—I Lord helpe me, for my bones St. iii. 2. G Alas! my God, how longe wilt 3. E—I Turne thou St. iv. 1. EGH Mercye, O Lord, mercie, for C & ed. 1823 mercy *instead of* mercies St. v. 1. G Lord I am 2. I prooffe EF sheweth St. vi. 2. I pain

Ps. vii. St. ii. 1. C he should I they doe St. iii. 3. EH If ofte my St. iv. 3. I yeild B an hatefull St. v. 1. E foes 3. E honour take St. vii. 1. E with laude 2. E lift thou thie H lifte thie 3. C that nations all thy G woondrous workes St. viii. 2. FI Thou Lord St. ix. 2. CEGH their well F deserving end 3. E be thee St. x. I *wrongly inserts between* St. xiii and St. xiv 1. I harts and mens dost send 2. B all all St. xi. 2. B And [margin note:] "yet bl[otted]" C Yet 3. B And if this [margin note:] "For this same bl[otted]" St. xii. 1. B For him thou [margin note:] "Therefore thou bl[otted] & a second amendment Then dost thou bl[otted]" 3. H thie I arrowe St. xiii. 2. FI great

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of child C travaille 3. B nought out St. xiv. 2. FI pit he first him-
self did fall 3. I neighbour harme St. xv. 2. H his parte, his
3. EH appeale St. xvi. 3. C to his high name

Ps. viii. St. i. 2. H doe shine 3. EH Thou hast I immortall glory
4. EGH thie story St. ii. 1. FI thine honor 2. CG infants *instead*
of babies 3. F thie enimies 4. F But to revenge BCF—I *ever*
instead of over St. iii. 3. B thought 4. B life [margin note:] "Qu. if
not *Light* bis" CG light, no light E Who light nor flight St. iv. 4. E
Yeet should be St. vi. 4. CGH hath *instead of* have St. vii. 1. E
dominion hast 2. E wholie plast I oxen placed hast 4. EGH are
feedinge St. viii. 1. I of the wood, *but wood has been crossed out and aire*
substituted in different ink 2. B seas I *after heir the word blood inserted*
and then crossed out 3. B thing 8. II doe shine

Ps. ix. St. i. 1. I with *instead of* will St. ii. 5. EH of judgment right
St. iii. 2. BCGH folk CF to wend 3. FGI so long to last St. iv.
3. I memory, and ruind platt 4. EII ruyne plott I *omits the line*
St. v. 2. EH judgment 4. EGH judgment St. vi. 1. EGH The
Lord EH will 2. CEG fite St. viii. 3. BCE—I stay *instead of* stray
4. F deaths gates St. ix. 2. CE—I sing forth St. x. 4. C feete
St. xi. 1. G For thou O Lord 2. C are 3. C are St. xii. 1.
BCE—I But of the 2. B out the CG scrapte owt of the St. xiii. 3.
C greate doe thow (O Lord)

Ps. x. FI *have stanzas of four lines* St. i. 6. I plagues the most
St. ii. 2. CEGH doth raise 3. G ravening 4. B God self E God,
self CG doth high God disdaine 5. B is his [margin note:] "hee is but
blotted out & put as in the text being a fault of the scribe" 8. EF That
name H That, name St. iii. 4. BCE—I He cannot 7. EFH And
saith thuss: in I *omits* hart 8. G ne're depart I *omits* part St. iv.
5. EFHI doth harboured 7. F oft tane in waite I profe of time in
St. v. 2. H To staie the 8. CE—I *transpose* once and he St. vi. 1.
CG lookes 2. CG hookes 4. EH To tripp 5. C Then free lie
7. F faire-of *altered to farre-off by a later hand* BE hoodwink F hudwinck
altered to hudwinck't by a later hand G hoodwinck'd H hoodwinked
8. H His leasure St. vii. 5. EH that *instead of* so G evill so much
despize 6. F through *has been crossed out and thorow substituted* G thy
all seeing St. viii. 5. I *omits* be St. ix. 1. CEGH that wicked
3. CG him *instead of* them 5. BCFHI So Lord G thy honnor sing
7. FI heath'nish 8. EH the land St. x. 3. BCEH preparedst
FI prepar'st 7. FI ever feede the 8. EII O Lord

Ps. xi. G *has stanzas of eight lines* St. i. 1. E I doe feare 3. EH
strainge *instead of* strong St. ii. 1. B Behold [margin note:] "Perhaps
bl[otted]" St. iii. 1. B began 3. E hath *instead of* have In A good
men *has been altered to* just men St. iv. 1. EH hollie tryumphe 3. F
seeing hand can 4. EH prise our St. v. 2. C wicked traines
3. C brimstons F coles he raignes 4. G This is there

Ps. xii. CFGI *have stanzas of nine lines* St. i. 2. BFG do love
St. ii. 1. CEH *transpose* things and vaine CEGH they with vaine mates
babble St. iv. 3. B rules do brave B brave [margin note:] "*bold* blotted
out" E bold *instead of* brave B & ed. 1823 embolden St. v. 2. B quill
[margin note:] "quayl expunged" 3. B their sighes St. vi. 3. B his
foes [margin note:] "their force exp[unged]" EH his force BCFH *trans-*
pose him and sett St. vii. 3. BCEGHI earthly St. ix. 2. B folk

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Ps. XIII. F *has no division into stanzas* St. i. 1. F shall I (O Lord) forgotten 2. I What? *has been crossed out and For substituted* St. ii. 1. FI shall I with carefull St. iii. 3. G O give mee FI eyes and eyes least St. iv. 3. B trouble St. v. 1. E trust in thee 3. C And therefore CEH grace G mercies *instead of* graces C shall still be E *omits* my F now shalbe [end of line] *but a later hand has crossed out now and added* my *after* shalbe I great shall bee [end of line] 4. EFI inserts My *before* Songs, *but in F this word has been crossed out by a later hand*

Ps. XIV. BCEG *have stanzas of six lines* B *has the following margin note:* "This Psalm has a crosse (mark of expunction) set over against its Title. Quaere." St. i. 2. FI theis fond thoughts EH have 3. I raingeth St. ii. 2. F doth works CE—I corrupts St. iii. 2. C this Claie race he could one espie St. iv. 2. C plagu'd E plangd 3. EF good *instead of* God In I God *has been altered to* good C deserveth St. v. 1. C folke 2. F were led 3. F God CF to devowre St. vi. 3. FI unto his

Ps. xv. 1. FI Tabernacles 3. BCE—I of life an 5. FI disdainefull 6. EFGI neighbours FI deedes 7. FI Who eyes I with person E person vilde I do hold CEFIII high disdain 9. B oath & promise [margin note:] "*word to neighbour expunged*" I give doth 10. B *omits* losse

Ps. XVI. St. i. 1. F Save me O Lord 5. CEGH Thou art my Lord, thou St. iii. 3. FI Heathen shall maintaine St. iv. 1. C will love 3. I his bracke wing 5. F inward parts I taste I inward parts I see tast 6. G faultes a chastening St. v. 1. E eyes shall my F godd *altered to* God *by a later hand* I my good reegard 2. I doth regard 5. G So my joye in glorie cladd St. vii. In A *this stanza has been written by another hand to fill a blank left by Davies* B [margin note:] "The last staff of this Psalm is put by the Author, & as I judg under his own hand as in y^t text, instead of the following which is expung'd & whence in the margin Leave roome for this staff. viz. y^t in y^e text sett:

Thou the path wilt make me tread
Which to Life true life doth lead
Where who may contemplate thee
Shall feel in thy faces sight
All the fulness of delight
And whose bodys placed be
On thy blessed making hand
Shall in endlesse pleasures stand.

Expunged possibly it was because two verses longer than the rest." FI *omit this stanza* 2. B viece with plenty E plentie flowe 5. CG working hand

Ps. XVII. St. i. 1. G just, (O Lord) thereto give eare 2. G for pittie heare 3. B—I with thee 4. DG eare St. ii. 2. BDFGI thy eyes St. iii. 1. B Where [margin note:] "*forté pro When*" EGH When 2. G searching inside 4. E wordes St. iv. 1. E ofte *instead of* ought 2. EH the rancorous stepps 3. BCDFGI thou *instead of* you EH still thou be my 4. D and goe St. v. 3. BC & ed. 1823 And *instead of* Then I lettes 4. C Which unto thee my Soule will send G Which to thee Lord, my St. vi. 1. B Shew me O EG Shewe thou O 2. H in man vailles of St. vii. 1. FI as an apple E of thine eye 4. BCE —I Death still me D death mee still St. viii. 1. E—I doe shine 2. E tounge doe 4. F to match DG my overthrow St. ix. 1. G gaping for his praies 3. G theis gaping St. x. 2. C from their 3. G Whose

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state doth seeme most highly blest St. xi. 2. B treasure St. xii. 2. G shalbe Lord, to enjoy 4. *In F this line has been added by a later hand*

Ps. XVIII. St. i. 2. B hast been F hath borne 3. I helping and, my ...trustie might 5. B My refuge then when I am St. ii. 2. E did sorrowes throughe G horror CF & ed. 1823 *reverse the order of lines 4 and 5* 5. E waillfull eyes I throwe H cries I throwe 6. FI climbe E omits and and down St. iii. 3. E motions 6. *In F a later hand has crossed out the before bow'd and has inserted forth above the line before descend* 7. F huge darkenes but huge has been crossed out and the same word inserted above the line after darkenes I huge F all inserted above the line after which St. iv. 1. G Cherubines (theire backes, the windes) I omits their wings 2. I his secret E seacrest flight then close 3. B hee [margin note:] "high exp[unged] & over divine [?]" EH he devine cloudes I a pavillions 4. EH Cloudes runne of waters I watere 5. CI his mistie D this mighty masse E eyes: his mistie maske 6. B—GI & ed. 1823 firre coales 7. C spake his St. v. 1. F they battred bene 2. E Ligthnings on lightninge 3. B water St. vi. 4. C stake 5. *In F This has been altered to Thus [?]* EH in his eyes right grace I omits this line St. viii. 3. B listst 5. FI by thee ore'came B—EGH & ed. 1823 by thee orecom 7. B dost a sheild abide St. ix. 5. D stags my feet he made so light 6. I climbe EGH hills I doth show 7. E armes: to break an Iron bowe H formerly as in A but altered to armes to break G I could breake St. x. D omits this stanza 2. F And added before Mee above the line 3. C strengthning F straightned 7. BCE—I & ed. 1823 that instead of as St. xi. 1. G by thy power strengthned 2. E those y^e against me rise F downe, who gainst me doe arise 3. F to added before me above the line F to has been crossed out before passe I to pass 4. I their help 5. I heerst not 6. DF folke St. xii. 1. C mutinous G envious ed. 1823 troublous 2. BI thou makst me served CG & ed. 1823 thou makst me be serv'd C folke 3. G name (their eares, theire eares) B—I enchaine St. xiii. 4. G then (Lord) I yeeld

Ps. XIX. *In CG each stanza has six lines, line 1 and line 3 being respectively written as two lines* St. i. 1. E fourth the name H forth the name 3. *In G written as one line but crossed out and above re-written as two lines by a second hand* 4. DG Shews St. ii. 1. B—FHI & ed. 1823 doth it display St. iii. 1. DFI speache no language St. v. 3. EH for Sinnes fair F for Sions faire St. vii. 1. C end of F midst of 3. I Reames, his from St. viii. 3. I sure doth aie indure St. ix. 3. *In A it gives has been altered to as give B as give [margin note:] "it gives exp[unged]"* CDEFGI it gives EH y^e gives ed. 1823 they give 4. E light & sight of St. x. 1. E Of him the Son H Of him the seas St. xi. 1. C finde gowld 4. I combs St. xii. 4. I And is not well rewarded St. xiii. 3. G from sinnes that be

Ps. XX. St. ii. 2. EH help thee to applie I downe help to thee 5. D earthy St. iii. 2. G offering 4. I Yea feire himselfe sent St. iv. 2. I thine entent St. v. 1. BF my knowledge I staies 4. D & ed. 1823 mee instead of thee 5. BCDHI help St. vi. 2. D In Chariots, & others in EGH In Chariotes, & some in F omits in after others 5. E with our remembrance waite St. vii. 1. E these broken H Beholde thrise broken 5. G When we doe praie, & call upon his name I When as him

Ps. XXI. G has stanzas of eight lines St. ii. 1. I omits his before hart 3. CDEGH & ed. 1823 lipps to aske EGH should crave FI would have

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St. iii. 2. D many a liberal St. iv. 3. E For even St. v. 2. C
spring 3. C Thou Lord it is St. vi. 1. I blessing 2. BCEHI
man for 3. I Unspeakably on St. vii. 2. E his tract hath FI his
truth hath St. viii. 2. BD—I *insert* have *before* hated C so much have
hated St. ix. 3. B All flames St. x. 1. E earthly place 3. D
theyr humane F the hamain St. xi. 4. D bended *altered* to ended
St. xii. 3. E *omits* thy *after* make EH Revengfull

Ps. xxii. St. ii. 2. G lord *instead of* God DFGH thine eare 3. C
The night (O God) my Plainte have wholie spent G O God the night in
moane to thee I spend 4. BF—I not G thou dost no audience lend
St. iii. 2. BFI Lawes E laude B are *instead of* is 3. B to [margin
note:] "in exp." St. iv. 3. C *transposes* not and I E not I a mankinde
G worme, and not of 4. F My shame of St. vi. 1. B did 2. G
mothers brest 3. C childes-eyes 4. G But I was given to thee my
lord, my God St. vii. 2. G Since there is none (O God) who i redresseth
C that it 3. C maddest 4. ed. 1823 Basan's mighty St. viii. 3.
DE & ed. 1823 waters 4. E These loosed I loams [?] St. ix. 1.
FI those huge D is heated FI are heated 3. E moistned FI pott-
sheard tride 4. D fast in my rooffe FHI close in my C mounh *instead of*
rooffe St. xi. 1. D thy pearced I *omits* they 2. CDEG lookt C—I
gaz'd 4. D who shall my St. xii. 1. G farr of lord 4. I gogged
might St. xiii. 1. B mounths C O shewe & St. xiv. 1. FI Who
feares D praise & honor St. xv. 3. C Congregacions D great & Lord
I will praise thee St. xvii. 1. FI remoted St. xviii. 1. FI since to
God the crowne pertayneth E crowne to thee pertaineth 3. G are made
4. I lawde giver of St. xix. *In A this stanza has been written in different
ink and without gold ornaments B has the following note by Woodford: "In-
stead of the four last verses it stood thus:*

To him shall kneel who to the dust be stricken
Even he whose life no help of man can quicken
As they so theirs, Him shall their offspring serve
And God shall them in his own count reserve
They shall to childrens children make notorious
His righteousness, & this his doing glorious.

But these six verses are scratched out as being two supernumerary, & in the margin is written as I conceive under S^r Philips own hand *Leave space for this staff. viz. y^e staffe w^{ch} I have set in y^e text* C—I *omit this stanza*

Ps. xxiii. DFG *have stanzas of three lines* St. i. 1. G The Lord of
Hoasts my 3. G taste wante or miserie 4. BFGI pastures 6. G
He onely guides my feete St. ii. 3. G Ev'n for his owne names sake
ed. 1823 name 6. G No whitt feare any ill St. iii. 3. G Allwaie to
comfort mee 5. G When foes most envious eye 6. G With grieve,
doth it espie St. iv. *In A this stanza has been written in different ink and
the gold ornaments are omitted B has the following note by Woodford: "The
last staff before the Authors correction stood thus:*

With oyle thou dost anynt my head
And so my cup dost fill
That it doth spill
Thus thus shall all my days be fed
This mercy is so sure
It shall endure
And long yea long abide I shall
There where the Lord of all
Doth hold his hall

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But these nine verses are expung'd & in y^e margin under the Authors hand
Leave space for six lines, viz. those in y^e text C—I *instead of St. iv have*
the three stanzas of three lines as given by Woodford. The following variations
have been noted between the Woodford text and the other MSS:

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| 1. 2. F doth fill | 1. 3. G That it (oreflowed) doth spill | 1. 5. FG |
| Thie mercie | 1. 6. G It ever shall indure | 1. 8. G There were |
| 1. 9. G Dothould his heavenly hall | | |

Ps. xxiv. St. i. 2. EH all y^t in EGH doth dwell 4. F fall I fells
 St. ii. 4. F *omits* ever St. iii. 1. F vaynenesse reaving 2. G
 Vainely shall not 4. B falsly [margin note:] "safely exp." E safely
 St. iv. 1. FI Lord, the God of 3. G *omits* thy seede, FI good seeking
 G Gods seeking 4. G search of thy face St. v. 1. EH & your dores
 St. vi. 1. EGH & your dores 4. G glorie bright

Ps. xxv. St. ii. 1. CG Sure Lord, who C trust *instead of* hope F hopes
 4. EH wrong 5. D *transposes* Lord *and* to me G Lord unto me thy
 waies now shoue St. iii. 1. C Judge mee 3, 4. *Instead of these lines*
 C *has the following:*

The God who still provides
 To succour mee from smarte

3. F The onlie God	St. iv. 4. I Th kindness	5. C Let those those
things FI <i>omit</i> grave	6. H thie eternall FI <i>omit</i> have	St. v. 3.
B spot St. vi. 2. F The laud such	4. CG sinfull	St. viii. 1.
B—H names 5, 6. <i>Instead of these lines C has the following:</i>		

O who doth feare this lord of might
 He shall him teach his waies aright.

5. F O there is one	St. ix. 2. C and inward	4. G Yea by his seede
C still possest	5. C—H secrets	St. x. 1. FI mynes eyes
snaring nett	5. FI looke, help	G O help, O help
St. xi. 2. CDF—I those	6. CG Who deadly hatred beare to mee	6. H lefte of
D hate muste cruelly	St. xii. 3. C And from this woes mee take	
5. CE O Lord	5, 6. <i>Instead of these lines G has the following:</i>	

Lord let not mee confusion see
 Because my trust is all in thee

6. B lyes in C The God on whome depends my hart	St. xiii. 3. G O
Lord, I saie againe	4. C on thee
5. F In tyme	5, 6. <i>Instead of</i>
<i>these lines C has the following:</i>	

Lastly, from troubles, (Lord) I crave
 Let Israell deliverance have

and G:

And let thy Israell, (still increase
 From all his troubles) live in peace

6. F O Lord for all

Ps. xxvi. St. ii. 4. G thy heavie hand 5. FG mynes eyes CDEGH
 & ed. 1823 doth 6. I the truth CDEGH & ed. 1823 truth I never
 will departe St. iii. 1. E not then frequent 6. F base *instead of* bad
 C folk St. iv. 3. E thine Aulter St. v. 6. BCG blood suckers
 St. vi. *In A this stanza has been written in different ink and the gold ornaments*
are omitted B has the following note by Woodford: "The last staff er' altered
by the Author ran thus

Whose hands do handle nought
 But led by wicked thought
 That hand whose strength should help of bribes is full

NOTES

But in integrity
My stepps shall guided be
Then me redeem Lord yⁿ be mercifull
Even truth for me sayes
My foot on justice staies
And tongue is prest to publish out thy praise

but these verses are expungd & in y^e margin under his hand *Leave space viz. for it as it is putt.* *Instead of St. vi I have the stanza and a half as given by Woodford in his note and show the following variation:* 1. 9. tongue as prest CDEGH have the stanza of six lines and the variations are as follows: 1. 3. G hands GH be full 1. 6. C then Lord be *but instead of the half stanza they have the following (here printed from G):*

Now firme my foote doth stand
Supported by thy hand;
In course of justice, truth & righteousness.
My tongue shall daie, by daie
Thy woondrous workes displaie
Where Congregations meete wth thankfulness

In A there is a blank between the last stanza of Ps. XXVI and Ps. XXVII.

Ps. XXVII. St. ii. 1. F wicked men St. iii. 4. F Whiles St. iv. 4. DEII my eyes 5. CDE unto St. v. 1. E griepe G are meant to mee 2. B I will 3. E me ever G In Tent of his preserve mee free 4. G On height of rocky safest hill 5. G In secret place 6. G Kept by his grace St. vi. 3, 4. *Instead of these lines CDEGH & ed. 1823 have the following:*

So I in temple his shall spread
Offerings of joy and sacrifice

5. G And songes St. vii. 2. G on mee St. viii. 1. E not from me therefore y^t 2. C from thee St. ix. 4. CG Teach Lord, and leade St. x. 2. G O leave mee St. xi. 3. CDEGH & ed. 1823 glad *instead of* cladd 4. C Trust still in God be stronge and he G Trust still in God, & hope that he

Ps. XXVIII. St. 1. 1. B *inserts* O before Lord 2. G O my God stopp 5. DEH Into the pit St. iii. 1. G mee with selfe 3. B do cloak 5. D in hart G mallice faine St. v. 1. EH To their workes 5. CG To thee Lord St. vi. 1. B strength & shield St. vii. 1. C God his strength on them doth

Ps. XXIX. St. i. 2. CG *omit* ev'n St. vi. 1. D Calves in heapes ar EH lorne *instead of* born 2. BD Libans 3. H Skyrion St. viii. 3. F on his Church St. ix. B *has the following note by Woodford:* "the 10 [sic] S. before correction stood thus:

His justice seat the World sustains
Of furious floods he holds y^e reines.
And this his rule for aye remains
God to his people strength shall give
That they in peace shall blessed live.

But having two supernumerary verses is expunged & y^e other putt in its place" *Instead of St. ix CDEGH have the five lines as given by Woodford in his note*

Ps. xxx. St. ii. 1. EGH woe St. iii. 1. EG & ed. 1823 moist hungry C greedie St. iii. 2. ed. 1823 me in their EGH shore *instead of* scoare

NOTES

St. iv. 1. D Lord for evermore St. vi. 3. C doth rise G joye
 St. viii. 1. *In* A did say *has been altered to* did stay F did saie 2. B
 But O EH & ed. 1823 But ay St. x. 1. B earth [margin note:] "*dust exp.*"

Ps. xxxi. St. i. 1. B *transposes* I and have C All my whole trust
 depends alone in thee 3. C But save mee Lord ev'n in G But save
 (O save) me ed. 1823 But gentlie save me 4. B thy eare 5. C
inserts (my God) *between* me and deliver CDEH with speed G Deliver
 mee (O Lord) & that with speede 6. G be still my forteresse St. ii. 1.
 ed. 1823 rock and my fortresse 4. BC trapping net St. iii. 2. E me
 light 6. C fixt; on thee Lord doth St. iv. 2. C my complainte
 have 3. CG dost knowe what ed. 1823 plague *instead of* plung 5. F the
 land of St. v. 2. C & ed. 1823 sides, have hemm'd me in 3. BD & ed.
 1823 eyes C eyes, my harte, my soule with grief E soules greife G Mine
 eye, my heart, yea grieffe my Soule doth 6. CG they are St. vi. 1.
 B on me reproach 2. C neighbours neere; my EGH were sore agast
 4. C I (alas), my G Nowe I therefore, my 5. C man, worne quite owt
 6. ed. 1823 in myre that's tredd St. vii. 2. D while theyr counsell
 G where, where they 3. C life to spill 4. C thee, and (Lord) did
 G Lord, and did saie 6. EGH from those who C foes, that seeke to
 worke mee ill B bane to take ed. 1823 foes, who for my bane do seake
 St. viii. 1. C let shine EG servauntes C still *instead of* make 2. C mee
 to save, Lord let it be thy will G mee Lord, even for thy 3. C Nor
 let mee tast G shame, my God most 5. G Consumed be 6. C And
 in darke bedd of endless silence die St. ix. 1. B made drunck E be:
 y^t use to lye GH which use to lie 2. D pride of crueltie 3. E doe
 through 4. EH pleasures 6. B Who trust St. x. G from
 prowde in 2. C hidd mee 3. G Pavillion 4. C thee Lord
 G praise for aye (my Soule) the Lord who thus 5. G Was unto mee
 6. G Yea far more St. xi. 3. B did cry CG made mone 4. DEGH
 love him ye, all yee that 5, 6. B *has the following note by Woodford:*
 "The three last verses of the Psalm (before correction under the Authors
 hand) stood thus — did moane

Then love him ye all ye that f·[eel] h·[is] g·[race]
 For this our Lord pr·[eserves] t·[he] f·[aithfull] r·[ace]
 And to y^e proud in deeds pays home y^t own.
 Bee strong I say his strength confirm in you
 You that do trust in him who still is true
 And he shall yo^r establishm^t renew."

C agrees with the Woodford note *Instead of* ll. 5 & 6 DEH & ed. 1823 *have the last five lines of the Woodford note. The following variations have been noted:* DE & ed. 1823 in deed H indeed DEH & ed. 1823 their owne *instead of* y^t own H & ed. 1823 this *instead of* his D confirm you ed. 1823 confirming you E y^t still *instead of* who still *Instead of* ll. 5 & 6 G *has the following:*

For this our Lord preserves the faithfull race,
 And to the proud in deede payes home their owne.
and adds the following stanza:

All you therefore, that in the Lord alone
 Your trust repose, doe, & in others none
 Confirme with strength this confidence in you:
 And this our God, on whome you so depend
 Shall you in all your waies still so defend
 That he your hearts establisht shall renewe.

NOTES

Ps. xxxii. St. i. 1. B Blessed is he [margin-note:] "*Blessed is the man exp.*" St. ii. 3. C Or cried EGH *reverse the order of l. 4 and l. 5* 4. *Instead of this line* EGH *have the following:* Both daye & night did sorely stande D daies & nights 5. B my thy St. iv. 4. C floodes 6. D neer them St. v. 5. G I will the waite teach thee St. vi. 3. G thou do'st bridle 5. B & ed. 1823 me *instead of* thee 6. E remainest St. vii. 3. C & ed. 1823 With mercies 5. G Yea joye to you

Ps. xxxiii. St. ii. 6. CE your *instead of* you St. iii. 1. G Sing (a newe) a newe St. iv. 3. E all handes. 4. D His owne word made heaven coast 5. E all y^e St. v. 3. F deapthe St. vi. 4. EGH heaven *instead of* heathen EH Councells St. vii. 4. BC thinking 6. B & ed. 1823 times time St. viii. 4. C & ed. 1823 Even that people, even G Such people even are those St. ix. 6. ed. 1823 duskie place St. xi. 1. B quick help CDEG a horse St. xii. 3. EH Whome him doth 4. B—EGH & ed. 1823 which *instead of* who E doth St. xiv. 1. G shall sure 3. D hope in his 4. E mercies 6. G As wee in thee doe trust

Ps. xxxiv. CG *have stanzas of four lines* St. ii. 2. C Oure best to speake G Some worth to 3. G thankfull 6. EGH The Lord St. iii. 6. C & soone his call D call did clime the skies St. iv. 7. DG who doe him feare E doth feare St. v. 6. G ravenous. 8. ed. 1823 Shall nothing neede that's good St. vi. B [margin note:] "*In the originall copy the 11th & 12th verses [i.e. St. vi], were set before the 9th & 10th [i.e. St. v], so y^t against the staffe is written as I judg by Sr Philip Sydney himself These verses must be transplaced (as here I have put them) according to y^r cyphers (viz. 9 & 10) namely the fower following.*" 8. G As length maie good appeare St. vii. 3. C in *instead of* by 4. BCG be strong 8. CEF & ed. 1823 His *instead of* And St. viii. 4. DE quite doe D displaie *instead of* displace 7. E & by this 8. B trouble & reproach St. ix. 2. B is ever neare 3. CDEGH & ed. 1823 his true sight EH deare *instead of* cleere 6. EGH doe beare 8. C most they seeme St. x. 4. CDE & ed. 1823 Who hateth God shall G Who hates the just shall 7. BG & ed. 1823 None, still I say 8. F. & ed. 1823 truth

Ps. xxxv. St. i. 2. EH appose 3. EH for this succour 5. CG wracke *instead of* bane St. ii. 1. C folke 3. C and blame on such wrong-doers E on theise 4. E for my hart 5. EH vild E *transposes* away *and* the wind C & ed. 1823 did blow 6. EH Angells St. iii. 4. B my dy St. iv. 3. G yea bones 4. F doth free 6. CDEGH & ed. 1823 soules *instead of* spoiles St. v. 2. BD *transpose* never *and* in me E *inserts* yet *above* in me were 3. BCEGH *insert* this *after* with 4. G cruell wordes 5. BDFG & ed. 1823 who then they St. vi. 3. E In fine I G & wholie shew'd H In sinne 5. D *omits* humbly St. vii. 3. E Their abjects 4. ed. 1823 causelesse *instead of* ceaselesse G ceaseles to...mee *in parenthesis* E to rayle on 5. E feast St. viii. 4. G will give thanks to thee 5. G And where I doe 6. B Lawes CEGH lawde St. ix. 1. C Then Lord, let 2. G y^t would mee ed. 1823 would now destroy 5. EGH wide mouthinge as St. x. 4. ed. 1823 ev'n for my 6. G joyes St. xi. 5. B—EG & ed. 1823 in most St. xii. 3. BGH Yea let 4. B & ed. 1823 with God 5. BCEFG & ed. 1823 whiles

Ps. xxxvi. B *has stanzas of eight lines* St. i. 3. CG folke. 5. E

NOTES

Nor feare 6. B that doth so D & ed. 1823 that thus doth St. ii. 2.
BCDFG & ed. 1823 doth hatred 4. B thought 5. D bed in mischief
6. DG strongly *instead of* wrongly St. iii. 3. G highest hills 4. C like
like the BEH depths DG depth St. iv. 5. CD A drinck ed. 1823
pleasure St. v. 2. D in thy sight B—H & ed. 1823 shall we see 3. H
O thou 6. E soule St. vi. 2. E hand EG discomfort *instead of*
discomfort 4. B lo there I see 6. B rayed to be

Ps. xxxvii. St. ii. 1. G For they shalbe 4. G And thou shalt have
good D & ed. 1823 foot *instead of* food St. iii. 4. CDEGH shall *instead*
of will St. iv. 2. D judgement *instead of* Justice 3. BCEGH judg-
ments St. v. 4. E wicked Scope St. vi. 2. E thinges sūme G in
thee doe 4. G staies on God St. viii. 2. F home he shalbe St. ix. 1.
DF & ed. 1823 might *instead of* right 3. C theire spightfull G theire
wicked St. x. 2. CD and ed. 1823 heat *instead of* hate St. xi. 1.
B good in good G with good 2. G with bad St. xii. 4. EGH want
to raise St. xiii. 1. CG folke 4. CG And like to smoake St. xiv. 1.
C The wicked 3. B To whom D & ed. 1823 Whom God BCEG God
blesse D & ed. 1823 doth bless E they *instead of* hee St. xv. 2.
C & ed. 1823 in *instead of* on 3. BEGH do *instead of* doth St. xvi. 1.
B & now 4. C Nor yet his BCDEGH & ed. 1823 to *instead of* a
St. xvii. 2. G blisse shall flourish 3. C all vice St. xviii. 1. G The
righteous God doth 3. B are St. xix. 1. G I saie, that still the
3. C And dwell...yea this G Yea dwell B therin St. xx. 4. E comes
therefore St. xxi. 3. DEGH hands St. xxii. 1. B then on St. xxv. 1.
DEH righteous *instead of* godly G Still shall the righteous aye be staid
St. xxvi. 4. DE was laide

Ps. xxxviii. St. i. 1. E this rage G thy wrath 4. D they shaftes
St. ii. 6. EG waight St. v. 1. CG *transpose* I and do St. vi. 1. CDH
For my G frends 2. G wends St. vii. 4. G I, as even such 6. CG
expresse St. viii. 6. G doe make St. xi. 1. G Do not then, Lord, mee
forsake 5. G By thine

Ps. xxxix. St. i. 5. BF said I muēt stood CDEG & ed. 1823 said, but
mute I stood St. ii. 1. D & ed. 1823 still the while that 2. G sorrowes
4. D & ed. 1823 this *instead of* such St. iii. 5. ed. 1823 wee see
St. iv. 2. F vaine in name to grive 3. B on, this man 4. B fruits
St. v. 1. BD O help me, help me DE thus far 5. G But I am silent,
why saie I thus 6. B makest me G makst us ed. 1823 mak'st of me
St. vi. 2. C stroake 4. E his Sunne thue 5. Thou makst his beantie
moath-like fading be. St. vii. 1. E sute 2. E *transposes* all and cloth'd
5. CDEGH Staie thow

Ps. xl. St. ii. 2. B & ed. 1823 sung *instead of* song 3. D & ed. 1823
did *instead of* shall St. iii. 4. G can be tould 6. E & ed. 1823 not
instead of nor 8. E myne eare 9. E y^e lessons St. iv. 1. H These
bounge 2. EH book role 7. C Of thy St. v. 7. F head with
heares 8. DE & ed. 1823 purest *instead of* surest St. vi. 2. B with
shame 3. F my bane to frame 4. D & ed. 1823 cast *instead of* curst
B my *instead of* me 9. C As thus to St. vii. 8. G onely Lord art he
9. C doth

Ps. xli. B has no division into stanzas. St. i. 6. EGH blessing 7. E
not them unto 8. G Of those St. ii. 1. C bed for 2. F I in
Gods strength shall grow 7. CDEGH my cure St. iii. 5. EGH

NOTES

visitinge 6. E & ed. 1823 evill. St. iv. 3. CG *transpose* he *and* is
B *transposes* say *and* they H so *instead* of loe 5. DE & ed. 1823 you
instead of yea St. v. 7. C foes, have not nor St. vi. 1. CDEGH
& ed. 1823 did'st stay 7. BCDEG & ed. 1823 let still this blessing
[G blessings] 8. G So Lord, ô be it so

Ps. XLII. St. i. 1. F chased hart St. iv. 6. CG *doe* *instead* of doth
7. D Whilst St. v. 4. DEG thyne anger St. vi. 5. G Theis
H vild 7. CEH fooles *instead* of foes 8. B—EGH Where hath now
your God his bidding St. vii. 5—8. *Instead of these lines C has the*
following:

Trust in him, on him relie
Yeeld him praise contynuallie
Whoe hath beene (thee failing never)
Thy true God, & wilbe ever

EII *have :* To him my thanckfull hart singe
Who is still my God my kinge
And with ayde nie neare attendeth
When my foes my thrall entendeth

G *has :* Unto him a songe of praise
Still my thankfull heart shall raise
He who helps my case distressed
Even my God for ever blessed

Ps. XLIII. St. i. 3. CG *case* *instead* of *cause* 4. D & ed. 1823 Of most
St. ii. 1. H this sight 6. D & ed. 1823 joye St. iii. 5. B tabernacles
St. iv. 2. D Bouldly will I St. v. 1. G Then ô Lord I will B will I
2. EH Musick 4. G Then to thee my God St. vi. 6. G My onely
aide, & comfort *After this stanza B has the following note by Woodford* "In
the margin *Hitherto S^r Ph. Sidney*" EH *have* Hactenus S^r Phillip Sydneys

247. A Woorke concerning the trewnesse, &c.

The text printed here is from the first edition of 1587.

253. 14, 15, &c. *Throughout the square brackets are in the original.*

307. 14. [margin] *The French original has in* Protrectico

APPENDIX

368. I. *From* Cottoni Posthuma, 1651, p. 323.

The general title page of this work runs thus :

Cottoni Posthuma. | Divers | Choice Pieces | of that | Renowned Anti-
quary | Sir Robert Cotton, | Knight and Baronet, | Preserved from the inju-
ry of Time, and Expos'd | to public light, for the be-|nefit of Posterity, | By
J.[ames] H.[owell] Esquire | London, | Printed by Francis Leach, for Henry
Seile | over against St. Dunstons Church in | Fleetestreet, 1651. |

The piece attributed to Sidney has a separate title page :

Valour | Anatomized | in a | Fancie. | By Sir Philip Sidney. | 1581. |
London, | Printed in the year 1651.

It covers pp. 323—327, then follows immediately after the poem entitled
Wooring-stuffe. [See vol. II, p. 340.]

NOTES

370. II. *From Zouch, Mem. of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney, 1808, p. 330 n. This letter is subjoined to a list of articles of dress for "Mr Phylpe Sedney" and his servants amounting to the sum of £4. 9s. 6d.; according to Zouch it is addressed to Sir Henry Sidney's steward. In the MSS of R. E. Egerton-Warburton, Esq., at Arley Hall, Co. Chester, there is also a tailor's bill to Philip Sidney, with a note at the foot by Sir Philip to Cobham asking him to pay it.*

III. *From Collins, Letters and Memorials of State, MDCCXLVI, I, p. 109.*

A LIST OF MISPRINTS, ETC., WHICH HAVE
BEEN CORRECTED.

3. 28. Pulianos 31. Poet
4. 1. Poetrie
7. 10. Poetrie 32. the (morall
8. 4. Poet
10. 15. Poets 30. Poetrie 31. Poets 32. Poets.
16. 32. Painter
20. 35. Poctius
21. 7. Menemus
28. 9. neccessaie
33. 38. S. Paul
34. 1. wrng 19. Exigendos
35. 31. memoria
36. 11. snnd 22. Epaminandas
37. 10. Pata
38. 20. all the the rest
41. 17. foorth a a divine 39. Energia
44. 31. quantie
47. 22. had bene bene 31. matters because
49. 3. they so good subjectes
52. 21. youself
57. 18. see you self 38. they deper
58. 4. shall well your
60. 3. that laying
77. 10. comma instead of parenthesis after other
83. 3. semi colon omitted after attulerunt
94. 15. ὡς ἐλ θηριόν 36. πολυπραγμων
98. 1. tempore orbem orbem Christianum
124. 23. Experence
127. 13. goverment) there
137. 1. will reddy
165. 17. Ansterdam 36. Ansterdam
222. 11. [Ps. XXIX, St. vi. 2.] & Liban
226. 12. [Ps. XXXII. St. iii. 6.] & dyd
250. 31. Which
253. 27. Histographer
255. 9, 10. Testament
259. 6. voice or nature
266. 16. and Reason
287. 34, 35. selfflame
289. 32. substauces
300. 38. [margin] Abridgemeut
301. 15. cxceeding 23. Arovidence 30. ond so
302. 16. acknowled
303. 13. Annocus
306. 19. [margin] Phocylides, 33. heléef

A LIST OF MISPRINTS

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------------------------------|-----|----------------|
| 307. | 12. | [margin] Clemeus | 28. | Scoevola |
| 308. | 21. | Austin? | | |
| 317. | 38. | [margin] Erom | | |
| 319. | 17. | [margin] limitatiou | | |
| 326. | 25. | altogether life | | |
| 327. | 5. | [margin] trimegistus | | |
| 328. | 30. | whereuto | | |
| 334. | 8. | thiug | | |
| 335. | 7. | perceine | | |
| 336. | 10. | persous | | |
| 337. | 15. | once essence | 16. | understandeth |
| | | | 26. | whercof |
| 344. | 37. | Hermius | 39. | Ptince |
| 345. | 26. | Christ (seemeth | 36. | coucluded |
| 349. | 3. | thiug | 36. | Talumdistis |
| 351. | 16, 17. | [margin] of of Drcames | 40. | [margin] Waxe, |
| 352. | 31. | Frst | | |
| 353. | 3. | uuderstanding | 10. | undsterstood |
| 354. | 10. | Understnding | 17. | cetteyne |
| 358. | 14. | aud | | |
| 360. | 16. | posseth | | |
| 361. | 31. | Episte | | |
| 368. | 13. | full stop omitted after cowards) | | |
| 370. | 34. | Franc lucis | | |
| 373. | 3. | Huntington | | |
| 375. | 19. | Archam | | |

N.B. In *A Worke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, a considerable number of misprints in the Greek quotations has been silently corrected.

A LIST OF MISPRINTS, ETC., WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN CORRECTED.

- | | | |
|------|-----|--------------|
| 20. | 30. | Usqueadeone |
| 31. | 20. | Spinx |
| 101. | 29. | as the terme |
| 126. | 12. | magus. |
| | 40. | Jubio |

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48. 19. *For "reipublicæ" read "reipublicæ"*
 52. 24. These *might be* Those
 57. 5. tying *might be* lying
 96. 11. *For* Grusij *read* Grusii
 112. 5. Da[ughter of] *might be* Do[wager of]
 116. 9. Tamars *might be* Famars
 117. 22. Gutebergica *might be* Gutenbergica
 118. 32. *For* carissimo *read* charissimo
 130. 30. *For* Tarchagnora *read* Tarchagnota
 171. 24. *For* April. O *read* April O
 403. 25. *For* 153. 3 *read* 153. 4
 26. *For* 154. 19 *read* 154. 20
 For 20 *read* 21
 407. 14. *For* August 1586. *read* August. 1586.

